

A study of Contrasts and other writings of A.W.N. Pugin
in relation to
the mediaevalist tradition in Victorian literature;
together with a bibliography of publications
by and about him

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy
at the university of Canterbury

Margaret Belcher

1987

ABSTRACT

It is the argument of this thesis that A.W.N. Pugin's Contrasts, issued in 1836, should be seen to stand at the head of the mediævalist tradition that came to form a distinct element in Victorian literature. Pugin is not usually regarded as a literary figure and there is no intention here to make out that he is a great one: architecture and the decorative arts remain the fields in which he made and left his mark on the century. Nevertheless, his writings, Contrasts in particular, his most characteristic and influential book, on which this study concentrates, and to a less extent his other publications, are susceptible of a reading as rhetoric which sets them far apart from standard examples of contemporary architectural discourse and close to works of recognized literary status. They mediate a vision which is in essence an imaginative one that removes his work from the realm of history, architectural or ecclesiastical, to which readers of his time believed it to belong, and aligns it rather with other, later texts that likewise express an ideal of a social and spiritual kind. Departing from earlier fictional accounts of the Middle Ages too, Contrasts offers, as it interprets the ethos of a society from the buildings which mediæval man chose to erect, a picture, of considerable originality, of a way of life that is perfect in all its aspects. The value of order which is customarily viewed as typical of works in the mediævalist mode is present but the vision that Contrasts and Pugin's other writings articulate is even more strikingly distinguished by its possession of unity, which subsequent works in the mediævalist

tradition can also be shown to display: the society that Pugin deduces from the Gothic and Christian structures of the mediaeval period is endowed with organic cohesion and harmony in all its relations. Since this ideal is, moreover, opposed at every point to the actualities of contemporary circumstance as Pugin perceives and represents them, it becomes in his antithetical treatment an instrument of social criticism, seeking to counter the godless ugliness, anarchy and fragmentation of his day. Because of the nature of the vision which inspires them, and not only them but all the multifarious activities of Pugin's career in addition, Contrasts and his other writings take their place beside pre-eminent mediaevalist texts, Carlyle's Past and present, Ruskin's chapter on 'The nature of Gothic' in The stones of Venice and Morris's News from Nowhere. Like those texts but in advance of them, Pugin's publications contribute to the post-Coleridgean, anti-utilitarian stream of didactic and hortatory works which endeavour to combat the increasing secularization and materialism of the Victorian age.

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INTRODUCTION

'I am a marked man here at Salisbury.'¹ When Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin wrote those words in a letter to a friend on 5 September 1836, what had made him an object of notice in the town where he then lived was a book which he had just published there: Contrasts; or, a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and similar buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste: accompanied by appropriate text [A3.1].² This provocative volume, which went on to secure him national attention, was not Pugin's first publication nor by any means his last; other works, some of them, like True principles [A29] and the Glossary of ecclesiastical ornament and costume [A33], of considerable importance, continued to appear until the end of his tragically short life-- he was born in 1812 and died in 1852. Yet it is not upon his writings that Pugin's reputation rests. He is remembered as an architect, a leading, some might say the leading, architect of the Gothic revival in Victorian England, and as a designer of comparable significance and influence in the decorative and applied arts.

Given his engagement with the most important public building erected in England during the nineteenth century and his planning of dozens of ecclesiastical and other structures, and given too his eminence as a designer, seconded by the researches and experiments conducted in his attempt to recover lost traditions and techniques of craftsmanship, especially in metalwork and stained glass, it is not surprising that this should be so. It was Pugin who made the drawings which won Charles Barry the competition for the Houses of Parliament

and Pugin who provided him later with designs for all the furnishings and fittings of that new palace at Westminster; it was Pugin who rediscovered the art of making encaustic tiles; it was Pugin who planned the first cathedrals and monastery to be erected in England since the Reformation. In this last connection he has a secondary reputation, derived from his exertions on behalf of the Roman Catholic church into which he was received in 1835. Pugin championed the cause of his adopted faith as eagerly as that of Gothic architecture and he is recalled as one of the most dedicated converts of the century. Thus it comes about that if his books are mentioned it is either because he was an architect or because he was a Catholic: architectural historians refer to his True principles on account of the two propositions enunciated in it which give it its title and which render it in their opinion his most impressive publication; historians of the Catholic revival notice Pugin by reason of his participation in controversies of the time and the proclivity of his polemical utterances to make him troublesome to his ecclesiastical superiors. Indeed, several of his publications have been quite forgotten; and when others are recollected their place is an ancillary and subordinate one.

Not only have Pugin's stature as an architect and a designer and, to a less extent, his embattled career as a Catholic tended to relegate his writings to the background but time also has worked to consign them to obscurity. As the nineteenth century advanced, the Gothic style and the Catholic faith for which he fought so keenly both became accepted parts of English life and the need to defend them passed away; and the topicality of some of his fugitive pieces has made their ostensible interest not only limited

but also short-lived. Pugin is moreover such a superb draughtsman that it is small wonder if his drawings have run away with his readers: the appeal and the impact of the plates in his illustrated volumes are immediate in a way that words can never be.

It is not an aim of the study of his writings which forms one part of this thesis to challenge the nature of Pugin's reputation or to reverse its priorities. He remains pre-eminently an architect and a designer. Nevertheless, while it is not claimed that he should be viewed primarily as an author, it need not follow that his publications should continue to be seen only as adjuncts to other activities of a very versatile man. Pugin's writings are sufficiently good, interesting and significant to deserve to be remembered in their own right.

It is the object of this study to demonstrate why this is so. For as long as Pugin is regarded as no more than an architect--or a Catholic--with an incidental pen in his hand, his writings, it is argued, will be at least in part misconceived. They are, however, susceptible of another kind of reading, a reading as rhetoric. Seen in this light, they can cease to be essays in architectural or ecclesiastical history that are unsatisfactory in a number of serious respects, and become instead statements of an imaginative ideal. From this point of view Contrasts appears as Pugin's most representative publication; and, for that reason and because it is the earliest work that gives his ideal full expression, it is examined here at length. The analysis of contemporary critical responses to Contrasts which follows this explication assists in proving the case for a reading as rhetoric; and the selective survey of his subsequent

writings, by showing how consistently Pugin held to his ideal, extends the application of the argument.

Once it is established that Contrasts, like many of Pugin's other publications, has a literary dimension insofar as it is a product of the imagination, several questions arise. One of these is the question of antecedents: what are the sources of Pugin's ideas, who anticipated him, where did he get his vision of Gothic perfection from? This is, however, an issue of such magnitude that it is not explored here; to determine the nature and the extent of Pugin's originality is to open a field of inquiry too wide to be accommodated. What is undertaken in the present study is a comparison of Pugin's attitudes and values with those of some literary works that might be thought to afford a precedent, and a summary of the suggestions of other scholars, with investigation of the findings of one of them.

While the question of forerunners is only touched on, that of successors, on the other hand, is directly addressed. If Pugin is to be regarded as a literary figure, what is his place in literary history? Of direct influence on subsequent authors, a treacherous concept in any case, there is no evidence; nor is there any intention to suggest it here. Pugin's writings can nonetheless be seen to make a contribution to what has long been a recognized strand in Victorian literature. Until the degree of his originality is fixed, it cannot be said that he initiates what becomes the mediævalist tradition in the literature of the century; but, in the present state of scholarship, it certainly seems that his Contrasts should be considered the earliest exemplar of the mode. With his new view of the Middle Ages as an era of perfection, with his presentation of them as an ideal, by

contrast with which the modern period falls miserably short and by virtue of which it can set itself right again, Pugin marks the division between a Romantic delight in the picturesque but remote past and a conscientious, didactic, remedial use of the past that is typically Victorian. Close thy Walpole; open thy Pugin. Besides other qualities of which his vision is possessed, the principal value that Pugin imposes--for there is no doubt that in history the Middle Ages were not as he presents them--on his mediæval material is unity. This characteristic, which permeates every aspect of the social arrangement that he deduces from the contemplation of great Gothic structures, aligns his invocation of the Middle Ages with the recourse to them had by those later authors who are usually deemed to constitute the mediævalist strain in Victorian literature. Their works are customarily considered to set forth an ideal of order; and so they do; but examination shows them to propound also an ideal of unity. If the accepted definition of mediævalism is adjusted in this way, not so that order is displaced but so that unity is included as an essential characteristic, Pugin's Contrasts, the book that made him 'a marked man,' takes its place at the head of the Victorian mediævalist tradition.

In this position, like the texts of the same kind which succeed it, Contrasts assumes its due station as a rhetorical work of social criticism, seeking to return a world it perceives as materialistic, ugly, irreligious and above all divided, to a proper state of beauty and reverence and cohesion. To set Pugin's writings where they belong in the pattern of imaginative productions of later, greater post-Coleridgean authors is to allow them to reveal their significance. They articulate a vision which, despite all the

objections that can be raised against its methods and its substance, could not fail to appeal to many of Pugin's contemporaries and which, whatever its flaws, retains a perennial attraction still.

There are reasons for a biographical emphasis in this interpretation of Pugin's writings. For one thing, the definitive, scholarly, comprehensive account of his multifarious life is yet to be written. For another, the vision mediated by his books may have acquired some of its quality in response to the stimuli of his youthful experience. Most of all, however, it is because the vision which inspires and informs his publications is also the vision which motivates and determines his other activities that it is desirable to consider the writings in conjunction with the biography. Just as in its essence his ideal unites the disparate fragments of any existence, so as an entity it unites the varied aspects of his life. Pugin is all of a piece. It is in a private letter to a friend that he declares that he has 'much more faith in prayer & fasting than in Leading articles;'³ it is in a speech at the celebrations after the laying of the foundation-stone of the cathedral which he designed in Birmingham that he expresses the hope that the sound of the bells will drown the noise of 'the steam whistle and the proving of the gun barrels' [D48, p.320] in the factories of the city; but the sentiments could come straight from almost any one of his publications.

The other part of this thesis is a bibliography of publications by and about Pugin. Because previous lists proved to be incomplete and unsatisfactory in other ways besides, the compilation of Sections A, B and C was found to be a pre-requisite to the study of Pugin as an author; and,

as much of the material in Section D had also been assembled, the full bibliography, complete with annotations, gradually developed until it took on an independent life of its own. At the same time, however, it retains its initial purpose of facilitating the examination of Pugin's writings which follows.

CHAPTER 1

Preliminaries

At much the same time as Chenevix Trench was warning Tennyson that 'we cannot live in Art,'¹ A.W.N. Pugin was starting out on his lifelong endeavour to make men do so. Other post-Romantic artists may, like Tennyson, have felt uncertainty about the relation between art and life, but not Pugin. His publications give no sign of any dilemma of choice; his pronouncements are unequivocal. It was his conviction that only in art, properly understood, could man be said to live at all, in any real sense of the word. No moral ambiguity disturbs the tranquillity of his belief, for no conceptual dichotomy underlies it. In his view art and life are interdependent and only when this interdependence is acknowledged can either be deemed to exist. It is not the case that 'we cannot live in Art;' on the contrary, it is a matter of our being unable to live out of it. All Pugin's architectural work was undertaken in implementation of this conviction and all his writings seek, to a greater or less extent, to expound it and, more than that, bring other men to share it.

Both the circumstances and the nature of his earliest published work precluded the expression of Pugin's individuality; he was carrying out the orders of a superior and his task was to draw as accurately as possible what presented itself to his eye. From boyhood he had been employed by his father, A.C. Pugin, to prepare measured drawings of existing architectural monuments, and plates that he made illustrating ecclesiastical and other prominent edifices are included in

a number of his father's publications; but such documentary exercises, while giving him valuable education in some respects, allowed no scope for his imagination [B1 and B2]. The earliest surviving architectural works of any substance in which this faculty has free rein are some sets of mostly unpublished drawings now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Notable among them are 'The shrine,' 'Le chateau,' 'St. Margaret's chapel,' 'St. Marie's college' and 'The deanery;' dating from the years 1832 to 1834, each of these booklets, entirely designed, illuminated and bound by Pugin himself, sets forth an imaginary artistic project, conceived and executed with a freedom beside which the records made under parental supervision look mechanical and arid.²

Although there is no text to accompany these drawings and spell out the significance they held for Pugin, his skill in a purely visual medium is already sufficient to reveal clearly the direction his interests are taking. While some of the plates in 'The shrine,' for example, illustrate single items connected with the honoured saint such as his cross and his mitre, others deal with a larger scale of subject-matter. Plate III, for instance, shows a scene of worship at the shrine. Here Pugin is not only displaying a design for a work of art but also setting it in a context. The shrine is placed in its background of a church, the great height of which is emphasized in the drawing, and many worshippers are sketched in, most of them represented kneeling in attitudes of devotion. Again, in Plate XV, as the saint's-day procession descends the chancel steps of the great church, many figures are shown present, some kneeling as the feretrum is carried by.

The same features can be observed in the other booklets.

'Le chateau' contains a general ground-plan of the castle, a cross-section through the extensive cellars, details of the chapel and so on; but not all the drawings are so strictly technical. The bird's-eye view given in Plate IV includes not only the castle itself but the gardens laid out around it and some of the surrounding country, too; figures are added, walking on the paths in the gardens, and a small shepherd minds his flock outside the walls of the grounds.

Compared with the books Pugin was later to publish, these slim volumes may seem slight in interest. Some aspects of them Pugin himself subsequently rejected; when he looked at 'St. Margaret's chapel' again in 1843 he pencilled in disapproving comments: a chalice 'is bad, drawn in the days of my ignorance,' and the 'form of this chasuble [is] vile.'³ While maturity and advanced scholarship dictated the dismissal of some external forms, however, Pugin did not turn away from the essential spirit of these early inventions. Therein lies their importance: they are the oldest surviving statement of the vision that was to dominate his life.

Clearly these 'ideal schemes,' as Alexandra Wedgwood calls them, were never intended for commercial publication but that does not mean that Pugin kept them hidden. He had by 1835 established an architectural practice. By contemporary standards, he was qualified to open one: he had served an apprenticeship in his father's office and been soundly trained in the principles of faithful drawing, if somewhat less thoroughly in the business of construction; as a pupil he had travelled extensively in England and France, gaining first-hand knowledge of some of the greatest buildings in those countries; and his father's books had made the name of Pugin widely known. It seems probable that he prepared

these early schemes so that he could have something on hand to show to clients as evidence of his skill. Seen in this light, the booklets become increasingly remarkable. If the reason assigned for the fabrication of these little volumes is correct, Pugin must be understood to have hoped, if not expected, to attract clients of a very special kind. His mastery of the techniques of drawing would command respect on its own merits and the appeal of the beauty of his designs is patent; but the nature and the scale of the subjects he chose for the display of his ability give pause. At first glance, his aspirations may look astonishingly impractical. How many people could be counted on to enter a small office in Salisbury in order to commission a castle? This superficial appearance may disguise a deeper meaning, however. These sample-books demonstrate Pugin's professional competence, certainly, but they perhaps explain themselves better if regarded as manifestoes, as a challenge to the client rather than an invitation. Such an interpretation is in keeping with Pugin's personality: the booklets are declarations of belief rather than products of worldly calculation. Taking the business of materials and measurements for granted, they find their justification in expressing Pugin's conviction that architecture is a larger matter and in their aim of persuading the client to think so too. Far from simply buying a design, as he might have thought, the client is being asked to embrace a way of life.

Perhaps experience taught Pugin that he would have to proceed more gradually in his attempts at conversion than he had done with the sample-books and find a wider circulation for his ambitions than was offered by personal encounter. Gothic furniture in the style of the 15th century designed

& etched by A.W.N. Pugin [A1] was published on 1 April 1835. In some respects Pugin was following in his father's footsteps: he secured the publisher who had issued most of the elder Pugin's very successful books and he put out a series of plates. Whereas his father had recorded actuality, however, Pugin offers designs of his own invention; the chairs, tables and so on which he depicts are in the style of old examples but they are nonetheless products of his imagination. He has moved to presenting pictures of individual items rather than panoramas of a way of life but he is still seeking adherents.

Pugin's next exercise in rhetoric was undertaken in a different medium. In August 1835 he published at his own expense A letter to A.W. Hakewill [A2]. To the controversy which arose after the old Palace of Westminster was burnt, Hakewill, also an architect, had contributed some Thoughts upon the style of architecture to be adopted in rebuilding the Houses of Parliament.⁴ This slender pamphlet, put out in support of the classical cause, is memorable for nothing so much as the extended simile, noticed by the Quarterly review [D26] as well as by Pugin, which likens Westminster abbey to 'a clump of thistles' (p.15). In answering it, Pugin confesses his 'inexperience in literary matters' (p.[5]) in his first paragraph. This lack of practice seems not, however, to have been felt a hindrance: Pugin's tone is bold, emphatic, trenchant and dismissive, and his pamphlet makes much livelier and more convincing reading than Hakewill's. Short though it is and limited in scope as well as size, it displays already many if not most of the features that characterize Pugin's manner in writing polemic and it rests, like the sample-books, on the conception that sustains all

his work.

By the time Pugin came to issue the work which gives that conception its most complete expression, he had thus gained experience of several kinds on which he could draw: the copying of actual buildings and the preparation of etchings, the elaboration of imaginary schemes for groups of buildings on a large scale and in a distinct setting, the publication of his own designs--two more volumes had appeared early in 1836, Designs for iron and brass work [A5] and Designs for gold & silversmiths [A4]--and the conveyance of his ideas clearly and forcefully in words as well as in pictures. These factors play their part in the compilation of the new work but what makes it the most important of Pugin's publications is the element that amalgamates, subsumes and transcends them all. Contrasts is distinguished, not merely among Pugin's works but among nineteenth-century architectural books in general, by the full articulation there of Pugin's conception, embryonic until now, of the nature of art and life, and the vision in which he embodies it.

CHAPTER 2

Contrasts

Architectural writings about Gothic

As John Ruskin noticed at the beginning of his chapter on 'The nature of Gothic' in The stones of Venice the connotations of the word 'Gothic' changed radically during the century and a half before he wrote. In 1700 William Congreve's heroine Millamant, driven to the limits of her good breeding by the clumsy advances of her boorish country cousin, can find no stronger words to give vent to her urbane disgust than 'Ah Rustick, ruder than Gothick;' politeness admits no worse abuse.¹ In the interval, knowledge of the Gothic style of architecture made great progress, as a glance at representative publications immediately confirms: the plates of Batty and Thomas Langley's revealingly named Gothic architecture, improved, published in 1747, with their ignorant and fanciful combinations of this and that feature, as often classical in origin as Gothic, are, in terms of architectural history, illiterate--Pugin referred to Batty Langley's productions as 'monstrous deformities' [A10, p.15]--whereas A.C. Pugin's Examples of Gothic architecture, issued in 1831, is an accurate scholarly record based on an understanding he not only developed for himself but did much to spread. Only a little earlier, Thomas Rickman had investigated the different phases of Gothic in An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England, a work published in Liverpool in 1817 which established a historical classification that is still accepted. The subject had been refined to one of serious study, scientific and factual and

informed, and the adjective denoting it had lost its derogatory associations of barbarity. Another stage was to follow: between 1835 and 1850 lies the career of Pugin, and he, as much as, perhaps more than, any other single artist, can be regarded as responsible for the fundamental change in the aura of 'Gothic,' transforming it, as he did, into a word, for many of his contemporaries, of high praise and deep significance. Among his writings, the chief instrument of that change was Contrasts.

Contrasts was published on 4 August 1836. One index of its originality is supplied by other writings on Gothic architecture of the same date. Rickman's Attempt, reaching its fourth edition in 1835 and already well on the way to becoming 'one of the most widely known architectural books of the nineteenth century' [D823, p.59], deals with Gothic, its principal subject, after the fashion of a dictionary:

The space westward of the cross, is called the nave. The divisions outward of the piers, are called aisles. The space eastward of the cross, is generally the choir.... Any building above the roof may be called a steeple. If it be square-topped, it is called a tower. A tower may be round, square, or multangular. The tower is often crowned with a spire, and sometimes with a short tower of light work, which is called a lantern. An opening into the tower, in the interior, above the roof, is also called a lantern (p.39; pp.40-41).

Larger entries are scarcely different in kind:

EARLY ENGLISH NICHES.

The most important niches are those found in chancels, in the walls of the south side, and of which the uses do not yet appear to be decided. Of these there are many of all stages of Early English; there are sometimes two, but oftener three, and they are generally sunk in the wall, and adapted for a seat; the easternmost one is often higher in the seat than the others. They have sometimes a plain trefoil head, and are sometimes ornamented with shafts; they are generally straight-sided. The statuary niches, and ornamented interior niches, mostly consist

of a series of arches, some of them slope-sided, and some with a small but not very visible pedestal for the statue. They are often grouped two under one arch, with an ornamental opening between the small arches, and the large one like the double doors; a straight-sided canopy is sometimes used, and a plain finial. These niches, except the chancel stalls, and the stoup and water-drain, are seldom single, except in buttresses, but mostly in ranges (p.64).

Evidently, Rickman sees his task as being to instruct, which he does with great clarity and order; he writes in a style as straightforward and literal as he can command, keeping strict control over his material, departing from a definition only in order to bring in a supporting example, excluding any reference to his own taste or opinion.

Thomas Hope's An historical essay on architecture, which first appeared in 1835, is a survey which takes a very broad sweep from ancient Egypt to the present day.² Hope is as neutral and as confined as Rickman in his attitudes: his Chapter 23 describes the 'Progress of the art of constructing arches and vaults,' Chapter 24, the 'Forms of the absis, entrance, cupola, spire, and steeple....' Explaining the development of the buttress, he writes:

When, from the excessive height of the arch, the farthest point on which the diverging pressure rested for support, became so remote from that which bore the vertical weight met by the pillars, that between the two there intervened a space, on which the building reposed but little for strength, and where a solid body of masonry could only produce an unnecessary waste of materials and heaviness of appearance, these buttresses themselves were, at that point on which the arches joined the pillars, detached outwardly from these perpendicular supports, and carried downwards and outwards to that more distant spot on which they were to abut and rest, each in the form of one side of an arch, and became what are called arched or flying buttresses (1:353).

Robert Willis, professor of mathematics at Cambridge and

'probably the greatest architectural historian England has ever produced' [D823, p.65], issued his Remarks on the architecture of the Middle Ages in the same year, 1835.³

The way in which Willis writes about Gothic is typified in the following specimen:

The clustered column is one of the most prominent features of a Gothic vaulted room, and is therefore always set forth as a leading characteristic of the style. But the clustering of a pier is not merely a kind of enriched fluting, for every shaft and moulding which compose it bears a definite relation to the parts which lie above it, every one of which receives, in the decorative sense, an independent support from some member of the cluster (pp.24-25).

Willis's manner is the same as Rickman's and Hope's: direct, business-like, impersonal. He keeps to the facts, particularly the formal facts, about his subject-matter as he in his scholarliness knows them; he offers no comment, no interpretation, no judgment.

Pugin's book

When these authors are taken as reliable indices of the state of architectural discourse at the time, something of the startling novelty of Pugin's manner becomes plain. Here is how he writes about a Gothic church, one of the 'stupendous Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Middle Ages' [A3.1, p.2]:

Here every portion of the sacred fabric bespeaks its origin; the very plan of the edifice is the emblem of human redemption--each portion is destined for the performance of some solemn rite of the Christian church. Here is the brazen font where the waters of baptism wash away the stain of original sin; there stands the gigantic pulpit, from which the sacred truths and ordinances are from time to time proclaimed to the congregated people; behold yonder, resplendent with precious gems, is the high altar, the seat of the most holy mysteries, and the tabernacle of the Highest! It is, indeed, a sacred place; and well does the fabric bespeak its destined purpose: the

eye is carried up and lost in the height of the vaulting and the intricacy of the ailes; the rich and varied hues of the stained windows, the modulated light, the gleam of the tapers, the richness of the altars, the venerable images of the departed just,--all alike conspire to fill the mind with veneration for the place, and to make it feel the sublimity of Christian worship. And when the deep intonations of the bells from the lofty campaniles, which summon the people to the house of prayer, have ceased, and the solemn chant of the choir swells through the vast edifice,--cold, indeed, must be the heart of that man who does not cry out with the Psalmist, Domine delixi [sic] decorem domus tuae, et locum habitationis gloriae tuae (p.2).

Both in style and in subject-matter, the difference of this passage from the manner of Rickman, Hope and Willis could hardly be greater. It springs from a totally different approach to the subject and it strives for a totally different effect in the reader; and both of these, the source and the motivation, themselves derive from a different conception of architecture. Pugin regards the building not as a construction in and for itself but rather as a structure used by people and determined by, even subordinate to, their needs; his is less a picture of the church itself than one of the activity for which it is a setting. There is no attempt to explain how the building is made; the concerns of Rickman, Hope and Willis are ignored. Instead, relegating to a background that Gothic which they examined in careful detail, Pugin creates a scene filled with human experience and makes that his focus. Like the general views included in the early sample-books, what Pugin presents is, in its full implications, an image of a way of life.

Other evidence suggests that Pugin found it difficult to restrict himself to literal representations of objects divorced from their human context. About a year after the

publication of Contrasts he embarked on a collaboration with Daniel Rock to produce a work to be called 'The church of our fathers.' The eminent theologian and antiquarian was to write the text, an encyclopædic compilation of information about every aspect of the mediæval church, 'elucidated in its architecture, its festivals and ceremonies, and its doctrines' [D837, p.323], in the words of one advertisement; Pugin was to supply the illustrations. In the event the project collapsed and one reason for its failure seems to have been Pugin's inability to limit himself to the 'illustrations from existing ancient monuments' which the same prospectus referred to. The drawings that he made survive and while some of them show recognizable buildings, many are pure invention; and all of them are peopled, often by large numbers. What Pugin depicts is scenes from the life of the mediæval church. They are the work of a gifted artist who was undoubtedly capable of furnishing the scientific diagrams it seems Rock wanted but whose inclination turned him away from a chore he found barren. The drawings for 'The church of our fathers' provide further testimony of the refusal to be confined to the inanimate which is one source of the appeal of Contrasts.

Pugin enlivens his Gothic. Beside the faithful accounts of his contemporaries, the excerpt from Contrasts reads like fiction--which is what it is. Pugin has never seen what he describes, in the eye-witness way that Rickman, Hope and Willis have seen their subjects. In the England of his time, such a service as he has in mind was held nowhere: the solemn Gregorian chant of the priestly choir, for example, did not swell through any vast edifice, in 1836. The great Gothic cathedrals were in the hands of Anglicans with beliefs

and practices different from those for which the structures were designed; any Roman Catholic rites were celebrated in small, new buildings, seldom Gothic in style. Neither faith could furnish such a spectacle as Pugin presents. It is in Pugin's mind, not in contemporary circumstance, that the conjunction of Gothic form with human meaning occurs. In actuality it must belong to the past, too remote a past for individual memory to recapture: it takes place four or five hundred years ago--if it takes place at all. Working partly from first-hand knowledge of surviving Gothic monuments, not the cursory apprehension of the tourist who makes a delightful water-colour and passes on, but the intimate acquaintance of the dedicated student who clambers all over the structure to inspect, measure and examine from every angle, and partly from his eager and already extensive reading of early archæological and ecclesiastical records, Pugin puts together his own picture of the ceremony as he believes it to have been. To a certain extent, it is a reconstruction made by informed understanding, with a significant element of authenticity in it. What distinguishes the passage, however, is not so much Pugin's scholarship in itself, considerable though that is, as his way of treating the information which learning has supplied. For him, the past he has studied is not past at all, finished, departed and irrelevant; instead, it is vividly realized as existing--and existing now: Pugin writes in the present tense. The past is not dead, but alive; the Gothic cathedral is not cold and meaningless but crowded with human activity and vibrant with human emotion. Pugin's imagination brings it to life, in itself and for the reader, in a way that Rickman,

Hope and Willis never dreamt of.

It is not an exceptional building or an isolated religious ceremony only that is thus envisaged; Pugin's imagination carries him on to the realization of a complete community, in the life of which what the extract describes is merely one episode. It is a community of large dimensions and unbroken continuities, both social and chronological, comprehending as it does all ranks and institutions in society and spanning centuries in time. Such a concept appears in the following passage:

Ever since the first conversion of this country to the Christian faith, pious and munificent individuals had always been found zealous to establish and endow a vast number of religious houses; to the labours of whose inmates we are indebted not only for the preservation and advancement of literature and science, but even for the conception and partial execution both of the great ecclesiastical buildings themselves, and the exquisite and precious ornaments with which they were filled.

By the unwearied zeal and industry of these men, thus relieved from all worldly cares, and so enabled to devote their lives to the study of all that was sublime and admirable, their churches rose in gigantic splendour; their almonries and sacristies were filled with sacred vessels and sumptuous vestments, the precious materials of which were only exceeded by the exquisite forms into which they had been wrought; while the shelves of their libraries groaned under a host of ponderous volumes, the least of which required years of intense and unceasing application for its production.

It would be an endless theme to dilate on all the advantages accruing from these splendid establishments; suffice it to observe, that it was through their boundless charity and hospitality the poor were entirely maintained.

They formed alike the places for the instruction of youth, and the quiet retreat of a mature age; and the vast results that the monastic bodies have produced, in all classes of art and science, shew the excellent use they made of that time which was not consecrated to devotion and the immediate duties of their orders (p.7).

In this passage too, as in the one previously quoted,

Pugin's concern is with the spirit that first established and endowed the eventually 'vast number' of religious houses and then governed and conducted them. The emphasis falls on the dedication and generosity of the founders and on the same virtues in the succeeding generations who occupied the 'splendid establishments.' Except for a pronounced but very general stress on their artistic excellence, the buildings and their fittings receive no attention; it is the piety, the industry, the learning, the self-sacrifice and the solicitude that Pugin accentuates, the devotion of all energies to the good of others. The church is not seen as a building, an inert physical object, but rather as a living institution using the structure for the glory of God and the care of all people--the rich and the poor, the craftsman and the scholar, the young and the old; much more than the edifice, it is the activities and the feelings that engender them which matter. Because it is presented as the patron of learning and art and the refuge of poverty and age as well as the guardian of man's spiritual being, the church appears as a force permeating all society. Such a breadth of scope is a very different treatment of architecture from that of Rickman, Hope and Willis.

The sub-title of Contrasts runs: A parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and similar buildings of the present day. To a reader of 1836, looking for another exposition in the manner of Rickman, Hope or Willis, it must have seemed that Pugin had far exceeded his announced intention. It is a much larger subject that he treats than mere 'edifices,' however noble. Clearly, the structure serves him simply as a starting-point; architect though he is, his pre-eminent concern is

with the society that created and used it. By the light of his imagination, he reads from the inert forms of the building an interpretation of the living character of its builders and of the community which employed them. Imaginative perception empowers him to deduce the spiritual subject from the physical object: through the agency of this medium, art, in the form of architecture in this case, becomes an index of life. The index, moreover, is not only direct but also evaluative, telling not only how men lived but how well they did so besides. As the shape of the building contains and expounds the nature of the builders, so its æsthetic quality records and declares their spiritual stature. In Pugin's eyes, artistic excellence is the guarantee of moral. The equation holds good in reverse, too: moral excellence is the precondition of artistic. Only 'noble edifices' can be built by noble men; only noble men can build noble edifices. This remarkable extension of the ancient principle of decorum underlies all the social commentary incorporated in Contrasts. Given the artistic beauty of the Gothic mode--and it is for Pugin an axiom not requiring proof--the moral beauty of those who created it must, in his terms, follow; it would be illogical as well as inappropriate for anything else to be the case.

To corroborate this conception and to commend it to his readers, Pugin finds a fitting rhetoric. By no means the sole reason for the response which Contrasts evoked, Pugin's power with words, already manifested in the letter to Hakewill, is nonetheless one factor in its reception. In the first extract quoted (pp.17-18), the diction is exclusively laudatory, particularly in the adjectives like 'gigantic,'

'resplendent,' 'solemn,' which occur with conspicuous density. There are different types of sentence: these run from the question inviting assent with which the paragraph has already opened, through the huge, cumulative periods where the imperative 'behold' and the adverbs 'here,' 'there' and 'yonder' take the reader inside the building like a visitor with Pugin as his guide, where 'It is, indeed,' implies endorsement of a proffered observation, where each clause added mirrors the visitor's gradual perception of the immense structure he has entered, to the strategy of the latent challenge issued at the end which defies anyone to stand convicted of coldness of heart. The passage also contains religious overtones and biblical echoes which culminate in the final quotation. All these stylistic devices function to compound the intrinsic appeal of the traditional sanctity possessed by the subject-matter. Clearly, Pugin's own feelings permeate the description and dictate the glowing terms; but it is not simply a matter of communicating enthusiasm. In the urgency of his desire to convince, Pugin exploits the technique of implied dialogue and so involves the reader in his account; to make the reader share his point of view, Pugin first makes him share his discourse.

Highly emotive and vigorous though it is and not without subtlety, Pugin's literary manner is not the strongest persuasive force in the text of Contrasts. The word 'contrast' supplies him with more than a title: it provides also the principle on which his book is organized. Counterpoised against the Gothic vision, he sets a picture of an alternative society, his own; and that contrast, central and supreme in the structure of the work, is the most

effective rhetorical strategy in his argument.

The great cathedral, formerly the scene of solemnity and glory, is visited nowadays by various kinds of people:

The first are those who, being connected with or living near a cathedral, attend regularly every Sunday by rote; the second are those who, not having any taste for prayers, but who have some ear for music, drop in, as it is termed, to hear the anthem; the third class are persons who go to see the church. They are tourists; they go to see every thing that is to be seen, therefore they see the church--id est, they walk round, read the epitaphs, think it very pretty, very romantic, very old, suppose it was built in superstitious times, pace the length of the nave, write their names on a pillar, and whisk out, as they have a great deal more to see and very little time.... Not unfrequently the bishop's throne, the cathedra itself, [is] tenanted during the absence of the bishop by some consequential dame (p.18; p.20).

The officiating priest is a 'neat and modern churchman ... [who] trips from the door to the vestry, goes through the prayers, then returns from the vestry to the door ... he only enters the church when his duty compels him; he quits it the instant he is able; he regards the fabric but as the source of his income; he lives by religion--'tis his trade' (p.19). Most new churches are built

on speculation,... erected by men who ponder between a mortgage, a railroad, or a chapel, as the best investment of their money, and who, when they have resolved on relying on the persuasive eloquence of a cushion-thumping, popular preacher, erect four walls, with apertures for windows, cram the same full of seats, which they readily let; and so greedy after pelf are these chapel-raisers, that they form dry and spacious vaults underneath, which are soon occupied, at a good rent, by some wine and brandy merchant (p.28).

As a literary device, the practice of juxtaposing antithetical views in order to discredit one and recommend the other is ancient and respectable; in Pugin's case its suitability to his purpose is likely to have been at least seconded by the promptings of his acute sensibility. When

he undertook, for instance, a trip to the great churches of England or Normandy such as he first made with his father, modern buildings and the modern usage of ancient buildings must have struck him forcibly in contrast. There is no need to call on imagination to describe his own age; he can rely on the authenticity of personal experience. Resting his analysis on the same basis of assumption as underpins his case for the mediæval community, reading the character of contemporary society from its observable architectural behaviour, he detects and exposes in his own time qualities precisely the opposite of those which constitute the perfection of the old world. Not only is the beauty of that past world intensified by this appositional tactic; but, the empirical evidence for the indictment of modern society being actual and available for all to see and verify, the presentation of the mediæval way of life gains by analogy and its credibility is indirectly but subtly and strongly reinforced.

The sketches of the modern milieu have intrinsic appeal; Pugin's confidence makes them lively and accurate. With his feeling for decorum and his sharpness in perceiving the incongruities which breaches of it create, he is able to turn to account the contrast of what ought to be and what actually is and so share both the satirist's source of contemptuous ridicule and the preacher's chance to correct. In what actually is, apart from one exception--namely, such efforts as are being made, in a scholarly and sincere way, to revive Gothic as the only architecture of the time, which his own aims and endeavours oblige him to encourage--he finds nothing to praise, in the world of the nineteenth century; his denunciation is as comprehensive as it is scathing. It is

not only the structure of Contrasts that is founded on anti-thesis: the principle affords the basis of Pugin's uncompromising cast of mind.

The verbal text is not the sole medium Pugin employs for the articulation of his point of view in Contrasts; the work also contains a set of plates, twelve of them (not counting those among the preliminary pages), which state his case by graphic means. Each plate is divided into two halves, one exhibiting a mediæval scene, the other a modern; almost every scene depicts a recognizable architectural structure and again Pugin is as interested in the human activity associated with it as in the edifice itself. The 'Contrasted royal chapels' of St. George's, Windsor, and at Brighton are crowded with worshippers, as Pugin imagines them, genuine, in the fourteenth century, and as he knows them, insincere and nominal, in the nineteenth. 'Contrasted public conduits' shows on one hand the Gothic West Cheap conduit, placed against a background of richly decorated houses, a structure that is not only beautiful in itself but used, for a well dressed young man is freely drawing water from it while other figures observe him and go about their business, and on the other the conduit of St. Anne's, Soho, a mean construction surmounted by a gas-lamp, where a ragged urchin finds the pump locked and a towering constable, watched by a colleague lounging in the doorway of the police station in the background, chasing him away. 'Contrasted crosses' likewise testifies to differing ways of life: Chichester cross, with the cathedral spire rising behind, is presented as a place of rest, shelter and meeting for quiet pedestrians, whereas the juxtaposed King's Cross, Battle Bridge, is a

forbidding erection housing a police station and surrounded by the noise and hurry of wheeled traffic with signs of commercial enterprise beyond. Pugin's pencil, as eloquent as his pen, continues the duality of the text of Contrasts; it emphasizes the ugliness, moral and artistic, of contemporary life, and exalts the beauty of the mediaeval.

It is plain that what Pugin is writing and drawing in Contrasts is not architectural criticism, as that was understood and practised in his time. Without pause, the excellence of the Gothic style is assumed, as is the bad quality of all modern building and no reason, in material or construction, is sought for either condition; no explanation or evaluation by strictly architectural standards is attempted. Instead, the success or failure of an edifice is determined by the motives which summon it into being; and this fundamental change of focus transfers Pugin's discourse from the artistic to the moral sphere. More than that, because architecture tends to be a public art, in that its construction usually cannot be completed by a single individual but necessitates the collaboration of several, if not, as in the case of the great Gothic churches and cathedrals, many people, Pugin is required, by his own self-imposed terms, to move beyond the realms of private morality and examine the general conduct, the collective behaviour, of groups: he pronounces, he has to pronounce, on society at large. His concern is not so much with the forms of architecture, however beautiful and impressive these may be, as with the cast of mind and the state of soul of the community which creates them. What he writes thus takes on the character of social criticism. A great deal of the matter

in Contrasts cannot be categorized as anything but explicit social comment. In Pugin's hands, because architecture is the expression of a social ethos, discourse about it becomes, like another art, 'a criticism of life.'

Pugin's vision

The centrality of his vision of mediæval life in all Pugin's work, not merely in his writings alone, justifies a fuller exposition of it than has yet been given. It is a vision constituted by various qualities. One of these is its beauty. The noble edifices of the Middle Ages are distinguished by 'the wonders of their construction and the elegance of their design' (p.13); they are works of 'gigantic splendour' (p.7) and 'solemn grandeur' (p.13); they are 'fine,' 'rich,' 'imposing,' 'magnificent,' 'vast' (passim). Nowhere is their sublimity qualified; Pugin allows no adverse or disparaging comment to intrude; Gothic is always 'glorious.'

Closely related to the huge impressiveness of the 'wonderful fabrics' (p.3) is another quality, their excellence. They are 'masterpiece[s] of bold and elegant construction' and their decoration is executed in 'the most perfect manner' (p.[4]). Their composition is the 'noblest' that the architect can devise and the skill of the artificer the 'most curious' (p.27); the arrangement is 'masterly' (p.20), the treasure 'immense' (p.8), the materials are 'precious,' the forms 'exquisite' (p.7), the ornaments 'rich and sumptuous,' 'massive' and 'splendid' (p.32), 'exquisite and precious' (p.7), the colours 'brilliant' (p.14). It is among Gothic monuments that 'excellence is only to be found' (p.35).

A further component quality is harmony. The principle of decorum governs all features of design and decoration: from the cruciform ground-plan to the cross which terminates the lofty spire and on to the smallest detail, all items are drawn from a single 'inexhaustible' (p.3) source, the faith of the builders. All parts of the structure are thus in agreement with each other, because of their common provenance. The harmony pertains in the destination of the building as much as in its origin: a structure of Christian design is fittingly intended for a Christian purpose, as a church to be used for the worship of God. It prevails too in the appropriateness of the building to the convictions of those who erect it: the architects and masons of a mighty cathedral are Christian craftsmen working for a Christian end, the glory of God.

Yet another characteristic is honesty: long before Ruskin, Pugin assigns to buildings moral attributes. Gothic structures make a plain statement of the purpose for which they are intended and they are equally frank in declaring the methods and materials of their construction. It is part of their honesty that they employ no misleading techniques or cheap materials, no plaster, for instance, pretending to be carved stone. Form in Gothic is a direct expression of construction; all ornament is grounded in structural members, never added independently for its own sake. The style is thus presented as truthful and not a 'deception' (p.35) as other manners are.

The vision also displays consistency. With regard to architecture this is found in its regular use of a single style. All buildings are pointed; a 'unity of ideas and

principles' (p.5) pervades and influences all designs. There is no counterpart of the variety of modern England, which has exchanged the suitability to climate and the sense of nationality which belong to Gothic for 'Swiss cottages in a flat country; Italian villas in the coldest situations; a Turkish kremlin for a royal residence; Greek temples in crowded lanes; Egyptian auction rooms; and all kinds of absurdities and incongruities' (pp.[30]-31). As the inclusion of a castle as well as a deanery among the subjects of the early sample-books demonstrates, there is no distinction between secular and ecclesiastical buildings in this respect. The contrasted plates exhibit secular subjects as well as religious and the style of them is Gothic and the ornament Christian: the turret of the Hotel de ville terminates in a cross; West Cheap conduit is surmounted by a figure of an angel.

By virtue of the direct connection Pugin posits between art, the concrete expression, and belief, the informing spirit, these properties of the architecture become qualities of the society which builds it; æsthetic values indicate spiritual and moral ones. The excellence of the workmen is unambiguously legible in the text of the pointed building. 'Burning with zeal and devotion,' they expend 'their most glorious compositions and skill' (p.23); that skill is 'wondrous' (p.13) and details are executed with 'delicacy, taste, and sentiment' (p.[4]); the sentiment is 'noble' (p.27); feeling 'the glory of the work' (p.23), craftsmen are enabled, 'in spite of labour, danger, and difficulties, to persevere' (p.2); the strokes of the mason's chisel, like the zeal and industry of all, are 'unwearied' (p.9).

Piety is unstinting: the sacrifice is 'continually offered' (p.23); the offerings are 'spontaneous,' the endowments 'liberal,' the tribute is 'heartfelt' (p.16); 'neither gold, jewels, nor silver' (p.23) is spared in the decoration; the shelves of the libraries 'groan ... under a host of ponderous volumes' (p.7). All members of society share this contentment, dedication and generosity; the habits of the people are self-denying, charitable, devout and faithful.

As there is no exception to the purity of feeling, so there is no mitigation of it. The honesty of the building is matched by the integrity of the builder. Feelings are unalloyed and whole-hearted: artists find that Christianity forms 'an ample and noble field for the exercise of their talents' (p.3); application is 'intense and unceasing' (p.7). Execution is continuous with inspiration: 'whole energies' (p.2) are directed towards a task. Motives themselves are sincere: people are 'thoroughly imbued' (p.2) with a feeling. Similarly, there is no disjunction between professed belief and the shape and purpose of the structure erected; no classical or 'pagan' forms are introduced in a Christian church.

Harmony is manifested in many ways. Art is in total concord with religion; propriety and fitness are criteria constantly met. Gothic art is the direct expression and consequence of Catholic devotion; it is 'under the fostering care of the Catholic church, and its noble encouragement, [that] the greatest efforts of art have been achieved' (p.33). Faith is the source of other harmonies too. It gives man peace within himself; it brings him into love and charity with all his neighbours; and, above all, it leads him to

communion with God. All its social ramifications are epitomized in the monastic establishments. These foundations secure the 'preservation and advancement of literature and science' (p.7), as they sponsor and create works of art; they are the repositories of the culture which keeps man in touch with his inheritance and transmits tradition to the future. They care for those who cannot look after themselves, the young, the old, the poor: they form 'alike the places for the instruction of youth, and the quiet retreat of a mature age;' in them and by them, the poor are 'entirely maintained' (p.7). No one is lonely, neglected or outcast in this community; all needs are attended to, with the result that there is no distress or friction. Charity and hospitality are 'boundless' (p.7). In the illustration of 'Contrasted episcopal residences' the view of the old palace displays its chapel, library, cloister, lodgings for guests and great hall; the prelate of ancient days is 'munificent' (p.24). Generosity and solicitude prevail, in an atmosphere of plenty.

Significant as these properties are, the most important characteristic of Pugin's vision is the quality of unity, of which faith is the principal agent. From the fundamental unity of personality of which his integrity is the guarantee in the individual human being, this quality radiates throughout society. In their uninterruptedly Gothic setting, all social activities betoken interdependence and a spirit of fellowship which spring from unanimity of conviction. There is one church in Pugin's dream and everyone belongs to it; it is neither assailed by doubt from within nor challenged by alternatives without. Belief links man with

God and man with man: the 'immense congregation of the people' assembles 'without reference to rank or wealth' (p.[17]). Religion permeates the whole of life; it is not reserved for Sundays only, any more than its emblems are confined to the decoration of ecclesiastical buildings. Services are held at all hours so that all kinds of people may 'devote some portion of the day to religious duties' (p.[17]). Spiritual business and temporal, layman and cleric are mingled. Among the workmen there is 'unity of purpose' (p.3), cooperation in a shared effort for a common cause: all feel they are 'engaged in the most glorious occupation that can fall to the lot of man' and this feeling 'operate[s] alike on the master-mind that planned the edifice, and on the patient sculptor whose chisel wrought each varied and beautiful detail' (p.2) and it 'induce[s] the ecclesiastics ... to devote their revenues to this pious purpose, and to labour with their own hands in the accomplishment of the work' (p.3). The church, as building, binds together an individual community; as institution, it binds mankind. Christianity itself is marked by unity, being a body of constant doctrine which finds expression in rituals and ceremonies that change neither with time nor with place but have 'but one signification throughout the world' (p.3). The mediæval dispensation is typified by an 'inward unity of soul, ... [a] faith that ... bound men together' (p.16). It is 'unity of creed' that 'so long kept men together' (p.10). It is 'the faith, the zeal, and, above all, the unity' (p.3) of the old society that distinguish and exalt it.

Beside even all the other deplorable differences between the past and the present, 'the most dreadful, the most disas-

trous ... is the entire loss of religious unity among the people' (p.16). The picture of the pre-eminent mediæval dispensation is given sharper definition by its juxtaposition with the 'great incongruities, varieties, and extravagances' (p.3)--as in the prose of Thomas Carlyle, the pluralizing of abstract nouns makes the faults seem even more numerous than the singular form would do--of moral as well as artistic conduct that betoken the spiritual and social divisions of the nineteenth century. In the plate of 'Contrasted episcopal residences,' the house of the modern bishop is situated in an exclusively fashionable part of town and designed in a classical style; it provides accommodation for his own family only and its street-door is guarded by a footman: benevolence and bounty, like Christian art, have disappeared. 'Contrasted college gateways' makes a similar point: whereas the great doors of the spacious ancient foundation are open and a dignified academic procession issues forth into general society, the gates of the new institution, King's College, Strand, crowded and dwarfed by adjacent shops, are closed and students are shut out by iron railings. These and other negative qualities in the depiction of contemporary society make more poignant the appeal of the positive values inherent in the old world.

In addition to details of the illustrations, features of Pugin's style of writing play their part in sustaining his interpretation of the mediæval time, for they are in keeping with its nature. His frequent use of superlatives emphasizes the beauty and the excellence of the society and its ethos. An anaphoristic construction of sentence, as in the repeated 'It was this feeling' (pp.2-3), by its parallel-

ism stresses identity and ubiquity of attitude: it is a device which underscores the presence of the pervasive connections and correspondences that are an essential element in the vision. The imagery of family relationships and health serves the same purpose.

It is plain that nothing is permitted to detract from this ideal; nothing is allowed even to qualify its supremacy; nothing spoils the serenity, nothing disrupts the harmony, nothing is flawed. No ugliness or evil intrudes into the community envisaged; it excels the modern period in beauty, in wisdom, in virtue, in faith, in every respect. Pugin's conception of the mediæval world is an imagined vision of perfection. When he refers to the present 'fallen' (p.35) condition of the arts, his terminology confirms what is implied in all the attributes of the society he describes and all the diction in which he chooses to describe it: it is a prelapsarian state, it is paradise on earth. The ideal may have eluded Pugin to the last in his executed work; his disappointed comments on many of his churches indicate that he often thought it did so. Perhaps by definition, by virtue of its ideality, it could not do otherwise: actuality must fall short. This condition does not necessarily invalidate the ideal, however; Pugin's energetic and unceasing pursuit of it in his own life might have intimated that to him. Literary representation is, moreover, subject to no such limitations: the ideal may be described, if not realized; and in Contrasts Pugin gives his ideal of the inter-relation of art and life complete and lasting expression.

Some reasons for Pugin's vision

The reasons why he evolved this ideal and endorsed it

throughout his life must finally remain a matter of speculation, in the absence of explanatory statements from Pugin himself. Some of the factors that may have contributed to it can be easily identified, however. One is his surpassing love of Gothic architecture. This is a stronger feeling than a mere affectionate preference born of his training in his father's office and his familiarity with magnificent Gothic cathedrals. It is an exclusive commitment, unparalleled at the time when he made it.⁴ Architects contemporary with Pugin were willing to draw plans in any style their clients asked for; hence the bite of Pugin's satire in the plate at the beginning of Contrasts which he dedicated to 'The trade,' where he mocks both those who commission and those who supply such anomalies as 'a Moorish fish market with a literary room over, an Egyptian marine villa, a gin temple in the baronial style, a monument to be placed in Westminster abbey: a colossal figure in the Hindoo style, a Saxon cigar divan.' In Pugin's view, designing in the 'Gothic, severe Greek and the mixed styles' cannot be 'taught in six' or any other number of lessons. Because of his insistence on the relation between belief and art, conviction must dictate style; styles cannot be picked up and put down at will, without violence to the nature of the architect and the client. The preparation of a plan amounts to a declaration of the architect's character and his creed; to work in any style required is to declare he has no character but the one he assumes for an occasion. This introduction of the consideration of integrity is of a piece with Pugin's conjunction of morality and æsthetics elsewhere and in part explains his practice of designing only in Gothic. Archi-

itecture is not a 'trade,' which is independent of convictions, but a profession, the consequence of beliefs professed: a man can no more be a true architect in any number of styles than he can be a true follower of any number of religious sects.

The analogy is appropriate: if the glory of Gothic is one source of Pugin's ideal, the truth of Catholicism is another. In his thinking, the two are inseparably connected: he cannot be a faithful adherent of one without giving equal fidelity to the other. He records that it was his study of Gothic and his investigation of the purposes which its various features were intended to serve that led him to see the beauty of the fitness of form to purpose which he discovered. Aesthetic considerations thus seem to precede religious conviction; and Pugin admits that in a chronological sense this is so; but he denies that they are the cause of his conversion. What brought him to that, after 'long and earnest examination' of sacraments and tenets as well as liturgy, was 'the irresistible force of [Catholic] truth penetrating [his] heart' [A10, p.6]. Again the emphasis is not æsthetic but, rather, ethical.

External circumstances may also have had their part in his adoption of a different faith. Benjamin Ferrey, his early friend and a fellow-pupil in A.C. Pugin's office, records in his Recollections [D433] of the Pugins that as a boy Welby Pugin was taken regularly by his mother to hear the evangelical preaching of Edward Irving. There are indications that he rebelled against the strictness of the upbringing his mother gave him and the throwing-off of her influence may have included the rejection of the Low church

and directed him towards a communion at the other end of the Christian spectrum, which was also the faith in which his father, a refugee from France, can be assumed to have been bred.

Pugin's diary records that on 6 June 1835 he was 'received into the Holy Catholic Church';⁵ he was just twenty-three. Three years before, life had dealt him a number of blows particularly severe for so young a man. In May 1832 his first wife Anne died in child-birth, leaving him with a tiny daughter to care for; he had no settled occupation and no regular income; in the same year his father died and four months later, in 1833, his mother too (Welby was an only child). His position was lonely and sad, unpromising and not free from responsibility. These events may have sent his spirit in search of a refuge; he records that his conversion occurred after 'upwards of three years' [A10, p.6] of study of the Catholic faith. As to many others who early suffer the buffets of mortality, a church as ancient as the Roman may well have seemed to offer him a haven of peace and security amidst those shocks that flesh was so painfully heir to; certainly the ideal world of his vision has a quality of perennial tranquillity about it.

As has already been hinted, Pugin may also have arrived at his ideal in response to the ugliness and ignorance he saw around him; much of the material in Contrasts, for instance the passages describing the current treatment of Westminster abbey and the vicars' close at Wells, supports this view. The abuse of buildings he considered beautiful, the neglect of observances he knew to be appropriate, may have driven him further towards the beauty and the propriety

of the Gothic and the Catholic. A scholarship as advanced as his was bound to react against some of the 'monstrosities' [A3.1, p.31]--it is a favourite word for the disliked buildings--that passed for architecture in his day; and a sensibility as fine and sharp as his was equally certain to resent the hideousness of much of the building that accompanied the urban and industrial growth of early Victorian England.

Artistic predilection, professional integrity, spiritual crisis, psychological need, fidelity to his adopted faith, revulsion from the surrounding scene: however far these factors may go towards accounting for Pugin's vision they undoubtedly help to explain some of the ways in which his concept of Gothic architecture is distinct from that of his contemporaries. For Pugin, Gothic gives rise to a postulated society of which it is itself the index; and because it is, in his eyes, a style of superlative beauty, the society he deduces from it is a dream of perfection. His is an attitude that shifts his work from the category of history to that of literature, the province of the imagination.

Pugin does indeed, then, change the meaning of 'Gothic.' By the use he makes of it in Contrasts, he enlarges its boundaries immensely, attaching to it a constellation of qualities which are spiritual and social as well as æsthetic. As his ready use of 'pointed' and 'Christian' as interchangeable synonyms for it is only one way of showing, it continues to be a strictly denotative adjective indicating an architectural manner, but it acquires a power to connote a complex of other values in addition. Pugin gives it a new dimension by making it signify a concept of

perfection. Conveyed with a rhetoric intended to convert and inspire and infused with a seriousness that previously formed no part of the subject, that concept endows the word with moral depth and resonance. It becomes a term of the highest praise, instead of the severest reproach: Millamant's insult has ceased to be possible.

When Pugin visited Strawberry Hill, in April 1842, one word sufficed to record his impression in his diary: 'disgusted.'⁶ The manner that modern architectural historians have dubbed 'Gothick' was, for him, the essence of frivolity. Decades later, any student's understanding of Gothic was better informed than Walpole's had been but the development was not to remain merely intellectual, for in Pugin's treatment the subject becomes ethical and religious as well. In 1836 he makes Gothic the medium for the articulation of a vision of perfection that is born of his professional knowledge and his religious piety, certainly, but is the product of his passionate personality above all. His concept is idiosyncratic, at first, and new, because it is imaginative. That he recognized its novelty to some extent at least is proved by the form and the tone of the book he devised to recommend it, as it is declared by the acknowledgement in his preface that his sentiments 'are but little suited to the taste and opinions' (p.iv) of the present day and confirmed by a note in the Apology for 'Contrasts' which asserts that 'no book could sell without it contained a due portion of abuse on the ancient faith' [A9, p.25n]. Whether, however, at the time of publication he appreciated the full measure of its departure from accepted notions of Gothic cannot be established; but if

he failed, as is likely, to perceive how totally different it was, the reception of Contrasts was to cause him to find out.

CHAPTER 3

The interpretation of *Contrasts*

The responses of early reviewers

Contrasts attracted more notice than any of Pugin's earlier or later publications. Some of the attention was offered in indiscriminate praise; some of it was reasoned criticism; much of it was in the nature of an outcry. The printed protest began, as far as is known, with letters to the editor of a local newspaper in Salisbury. Scarcely more than a month after the appearance of the book, 'A. F.' started a petty controversy when he objected to the 'extreme folly and puerile misrepresentation' of a text which blamed the Reformation for the decay of Gothic architecture, and recommended the 'unlettered' Pugin to 'study ... the page of history' [D7]. Challenged to declare his identity and hardened in his attitudes by the defence Pugin published in a rival journal [A8], the Reverend Arthur Fane continued to maintain that *Contrasts* 'insult[ed] ... the Church of England, in a gross and violent manner' and he found it a question too 'whether the modern apostles of Popery and Republicanism (strange union!) are most patriots or traitors; more useful to the State or dangerous to its interests' [D8]. The editor joined the fray again, as he had done when Fane's first letter appeared, with further derisory allusions to Pugin's alleged personality--his bad grace, immodesty and 'insatiable thirst after notoriety' [D15]--and to the house, St. Marie's Grange, he had recently designed and had built for himself just out of the town. Pugin answered again [A7], repudiating especially the charge of being a traitor, and

Fane, infuriated by 'such barefaced attacks' from a member of 'the Roman Catholic party, which, hand in hand with atheist, deist, and dissenter, aims at the ruins [sic] of our Zion' [D9], rehearsed his accusations with even more entrenched vehemence in a third letter that was allowed to be final.

In the meantime other combatants had engaged themselves; 'A Protestant' was particularly hysterical, assailing the 'ribaldry and falsehood' of Contrasts with vigour if not cogency, developing an assault on Roman Catholicism in general and by way of conclusion finding Pugin guilty of apostasy and claiming that he 'would already evidently burn the Bible' [D14]. The last contribution came from another correspondent who hid himself in anonymity but paraded his sweeping prejudice against popery for all to see. 'Popery is unchangeable! and Protestants cannot be too grateful to God for his goodness in rescuing and preserving England from the domination of the See of Rome!... Popery is unchangeable; and the character of Popery, Sir, is written in lines of blood, rendered legible by the blaze of Smithfield's lurid fires!' [D13].

In the midst of this unedifying vituperation and abuse, some of the broad outlines of the response to Contrasts can already be observed. All four of Pugin's antagonists are right to recognize that something more than architecture is involved in his book, although none of them perceives accurately what that something is. They take the great object of Pugin's recommendation to be Roman Catholicism and leap, without much looking, to the defence of the established church which they think thus threatened. The quarrel is

essentially sectarian: even the charge of ignorance of history that Fane, the least intemperate of the three main participants, brings against Pugin is laid because of his interpretation of the Reformation as an event with disastrous consequences.

To move to the other answer to Pugin that was published in 1836 is to enter a cooler atmosphere where reason and professional knowledge replace bigotry and shrillness. Matthew Habershon's The ancient half-timbered houses of England is the work of an architect and contains a detailed critique of an aspect of Contrasts, already acknowledged to be 'a popular work' [D12, p.xvii], which, despite its prominence, had been entirely overlooked by the Salisbury set, except for Fane's mention, in a frank if unwitting admission of indifference to architecture, of 'the wonderful beauty of the engravings' [D7]. Having made plain that he admires Gothic but does not share Pugin's view of mediæval society, for he is a Protestant who regards the Reformation as an 'emancipation from that spiritual as well as feudal tyranny' (p.xii) that reigned in the Middle Ages and a progressivist who believes that 'the present English school of Architecture ... was never in a more prosperous state than at the present moment' (and who is thus, of course, not free himself from the fault of bias which he dislikes in Pugin), Habershon inquires 'whether the data on which Mr. Pugin has proceeded, will sanction so violent an attack as he has made on both the state of architecture and its professors' (p.xvii) and comes to the conclusion that Pugin's treatment of the nineteenth century is 'unmerciful' and 'unjust' (p.xviii). He then adduces the evidence for this judgment, examining each

of the plates in turn and pointing out why the contrast in it is unfair and unfounded. Where the subjects are strictly comparable, as in the cases of altar screens, chapels and sepulchral monuments, Pugin has set beside a splendid ancient specimen a modern one which is very ordinary, although a better one could easily have been found and is often suggested by Habershon. In other instances, the juxtaposed structures are not strictly comparable because they were erected for different purposes, as happened with King's Cross which was never a cross but was built as a police station and got its name by accident, or because they have been, like the inn at Grantham, converted to their present use. Sometimes too Pugin sets a specific building, such as the Guildhall, beside one that is not precisely designated: how then can relative fitness to purpose be assessed? Pugin ranges over a period of two hundred years to find his modern examples, although his title declares that he is dealing (in 1836) with the nineteenth century; and despite his statement as early as the opening paragraph of his text that he is concerned with 'this country' (A3.1, p.[1]), he travels to France for some of his instances. Furthermore, the title-page promises contrasts of 'noble edifices' yet the subject of one plate is an iron pump and a lamp-post, while next to it is placed a drawing of a conduit that no longer exists and which, because no one can see it any more, proves nothing; Ely palace is also shown as it 'was' (p.xxi), it too being no longer in existence. Finally, Habershon claims that it would be easy, if such unfairness in the choice of samples be tolerated, to reverse the balance in favour of the nineteenth century; and, still with Pugin's end-plate

of Veritas in mind, remarks that 'it will be well if, for the future, TRUTH is put into the scales rather than over them' (p.xxii).

While his substantiated commentary on the illustrations constitutes the chief strength and interest of Habershon's criticism, what Pugin calls his 'appropriate text' [A3.1, title-page] does not go unnoticed. Detecting easily that 'the real point at issue in these contrasts is not the architecture of the country, but its RELIGION' (p.xxiii), Habershon shows up the inaccuracy of some of Pugin's claims when these are referred to history, recalling, for instance (although with some inconsistency himself, perhaps, insofar as he reproaches Pugin with taking illustrations from outside England), the facts of the Inquisition, the extermination of the Albigenses and the simultaneous existence of two popes, to prove that there is 'no greater deception' (p.xxvii) than the notion of the unity of the Roman Catholic church which Pugin, like others before him, also asserts. Habershon's best wishes for the author of Contrasts are that he will see the error of his ways and return to the Church of England.

Early in 1837 the Athenæum pronounced its stately and even-handed verdict: Pugin is acknowledged as 'the representative of Gothic art in this country' and his volume exhibits 'pungency and wit, and in many instances just remark' but at the same time he shows 'rabid prejudice' and employs means 'little creditable either to his judgment or his feelings' [D27]. The inequity of the contrasts in the plates is stressed, particularly insofar as Pugin has disregarded considerations of material, size and cost, and in the choice of King's Cross: 'how low has Mr. Pugin here

descended for a parallel;' and he is gravely reprimanded for the pettiness of his personal attack on Sir John Soane.

The review in the Gentleman's magazine two months later reads almost like a reply--in contradiction. For the Athenæum, Contrasts 'seems ... to contain the outpourings of disappointment;' the Gentleman's magazine is pleased that Pugin's 'strictures on the modern productions are not tinged by spleen or soured by disappointment' [D18, p.284]. The Athenæum wishes that Pugin had remained content with architecture 'rather than thus seek for a doubtful reputation as a caricaturist;' the Gentleman's magazine is sure that this work 'will increase his previous reputation' (p.285). Where the Athenæum deplores Pugin's impertinence in ridiculing the established professors of his art, the Gentleman's magazine relishes the 'boldness and freedom' of his criticisms, the 'amusing light' (p.283) in which modern buildings are displayed and the 'waggery' (p.285) of one etching in particular, that of the conduits. The 'spirit' (p.283) and 'enthusiasm' (p.284) of the production are unhesitatingly welcomed by the Gentleman's magazine, while the Athenæum is puzzled to 'know how to treat this work.'

The reviewer, then anonymous but now known to be W.H. Leeds, in Fraser's magazine is at no such loss: he treats Contrasts and its author with supercilious contempt and viciously ad hominem abuse. 'Our architectural Quixote' [D23, p.329] is, he writes, 'an insolent reviler' (p.330), 'quite outrageous in his zeal' (p.329), 'either very ignorant, or not a little disingenuous' and 'palpably absurd' (p.330); 'our good-natured contraster' also 'affects to be waggish' (p.331). Feigning surprise that there is no

picture of St. Marie's Grange in Contrasts, Leeds spitefully adds: 'Few will attribute the omission to excess of modesty' (p.332). Evidently enjoying the indulgence of his propensity to sneer, he ridicules aspects of Pugin's personality in a gratuitously malicious manner which detracts from the value of a review that elsewhere makes acute and justified criticisms of the book. Although some of these had already been made by other commentators, it can be doubted whether Leeds had read their objections and he may be credited with noticing for himself Pugin's ungenerous treatment of contemporary architects, his choice of 'some of the paltriest erections of late years' (p.332) for his modern plates and his failure to explain how 'Gothic architecture came to be simultaneously exploded in popish as well as protestant countries' (p.331). Fane had anticipated him in this last point, as Habershon does in indicating the ease with which the superiority of modern buildings could be demonstrated if a different selection were made. Where Leeds brings new charges is against Pugin's brand of criticism, which instead of explaining and giving reasons is all assertion, 'fierce denunciation,' 'mere strut and swagger,' and against his arrogance, which makes him 'fancy himself a kind of pope in architectural matters;' and where he offers new insights is in his perception that Pugin's theory does not account for the fact that Gothic 'came to be discarded from secular buildings' (p.330) as well as ecclesiastical, and in his important complaint that 'there exists hardly any connexion between the plates and the letterpress' (p.333).

The discussion of Contrasts in the Dublin review, now known to have been written by Nicholas Wiseman, is full of

protective sympathy for the author thus maligned by the Protestant Fraser's magazine. It accepts Pugin's insistence on the perfect adaptation of form to purpose in Gothic and the complete loss of this connection in modern work as totally as it shares his conviction of the glorious truth of Roman Catholicism. Commending the text for its 'bold and masterly sketch' [D32, p.363] of the changes the Reformation introduced to architecture and endorsing Pugin's exposition of the reasons for them, it concentrates on the plates, which 'present ... only the phenomena' (p.361), while the text 'more fully explains' (p.363) Pugin's object. Entering wholly into the spirit of the work, it notices almost incidentally in the course of its appreciations several important features hitherto unremarked. The immediacy of the appeal made by the visual medium is one of these: 'the eye decides almost intuitively' (p.361) which plate of each pair is preferable. Another, akin to Habershon's point that one of Pugin's samples of ancient work no longer exists, is that, in the case of altar screens, Pugin has not shown the exquisite one at Durham 'as now remaining ... but [with] all its niches filled with holy images, the altar restored, and the priest celebrating thereon the august mysteries: such, in short, as the faithful saw it in 1430' (p.361). In this case as in others, it sees that the figures Pugin has introduced contribute to the effect of the plates: 'here, from the wide portals of an ancient church, streams forth a picturesque procession ... there, from the shade of Nash's disproportioned circular portico in Langham Place, topped by the unimaginable ugliness of his column-girded "extinguisher," trips out a slender congregation' (p.361). Citing Pugin's principle of fitness, it calls

on him, in playful satire, to agree that 'the Bishop of Ely's genteel house in Dover Street, is a much better architectural specimen of what a Protestant bishop's residence should be, than the cloistered palace of Holborn, which clearly belongs to times when bishops gave hospitality, afforded means of study to poor scholars, were daily seen at public prayers, and gave a third of their incomes to their children, the poor,--things utterly useless now-a-days, as long as we have plenty of inns, abundant reading-rooms, and sufficient poor-rates' (pp.362-63). Evidently, Wiseman takes the point of Pugin's social satire in this plate.

Some time during 1837, the precise date not being known, 'An architect' issued his Reply to 'Contrasts,' by A. Welby Pugin. The catalogue of the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects assigns this pamphlet to A.W. Hakewill but the attribution is unsupported and seems unlikely as the sentiments expressed, towards the classical style, for example, do not resemble those put forward in Hakewill's Thoughts. Whoever 'An architect' was, his publication is yet another motivated by sectarianism. He explains that his object is 'to exculpate the Protestant faith from the charge of degrading the art, by chilling the feelings of the people' [D30, p.15]; the drift of Pugin's thesis reveals a 'fearfully diseased state of mind' (p.13) and shows the author 'Jesuitically distorting facts' (p.16). He should be grateful to his country and to its established religion: 'Let him ponder it well, that God has honoured Protestant England above any other nation, to repress the wildest outbreak of revolution, that has yet been recorded in the history of the world' (p.24). This patriotic and censorious flourish con-

cludes an essay which finds no new fault in Pugin's work, except in challenging his 'right to assume that the feelings and tastes of the people' (p.11) are no longer sympathetic to the Gothic style. Otherwise, it rehearses criticisms already familiar from other reviews: Pugin is not an impartial judge, the taste for the classical style was a fashion which began in Italy, contemporary churches built for Roman Catholicism do not exhibit the glorious feelings which Pugin claims to be the exclusive property of that faith, and so on.

As late as two and a half years after its appearance, Contrasts was still being reviewed; the British critic devoted nearly twenty pages of its April issue in 1839 to the most thorough contemporary examination of all, now known to have been written by Thomas Mozley, brother-in-law of J.H. Newman, who was then editor of the periodical. In date, provenance and personnel, the review thus forms part of the Oxford Movement and one of its patent if unacknowledged aims is to assert the catholicity of the Church of England and, as its peroration, to claim for that church the credit both of reviving Gothic architecture and of all that is good in Pugin's volume. Despite this denominational impulse, however, the review deals with Contrasts principally on its own terms. Respecting Pugin's 'perfect taste' [D59, p.479] and his visible sincerity, confirming that he is 'the first Gothic architect of the age' (p.481), it nonetheless taxes his book with 'an utter want of either soundness or fairness in its pretence at argument' (p.479), objecting to the method of making a single specimen represent a whole, diverse group, for instance, a procedure by which it would be easy to 'turn

the tables' (p.492). If this, like other observations, is not new, much that Mozley writes is. Without giving specific examples of the shortcoming, he convicts Pugin of illogicality. 'This world is a system of compensations; non omnis fert omnia tellus; Homer was blind, and Mr. Pugin cannot argue' (p.481). Other critics had disagreed with Pugin's selection and interpretation of facts; this is a charge against his intellectual capacity per se. His powers of reasoning are 'childish' (p.481). 'Mr. Pugin ought never to write, when he can draw so infinitely better' (p.481). The plates of Contrasts are clear and beautiful, but the text is emphatically 'unappropriate' (p.481) to them. Mozley looks beyond the presentation of the Reformation which was the focus of earlier attacks and examines Pugin's view of the Middle Ages: 'Much fruitless labour having been spent in endeavours to ascertain the chronology of this golden era, Mr. Pugin has set the question for ever at rest by assigning it to the fifteenth century, i.e. the desolating wars of the Roses' (p.482). Pugin's historical knowledge is again shown to be wanting, but this time in a different century and a different section of his thesis. Mozley is the first too to point out that Pugin's choice of ancient examples strays beyond his own limits in including structures of the sixteenth century. Apropos of the plates, he identifies more old buildings that Pugin has drawn in a 'restored' (p.487) condition rather than in their actual state--'we know not on what authority' (p.489). He exposes also the way in which Pugin has ignored the circumstances that surrounded the construction and occupation of some of his admired buildings: Tom tower, the main gateway to Christ

Church (not Christ's College, as Pugin has it, although Mozley, Oxford man though he is, does not notice the mistake), leads to a college which Pugin describes as 'extensive and beautiful' [A3.1, p.4] but which Mozley points out was founded on the 'suppression of forty-two or more religious houses in all parts of England' (p.488); Ely palace was the residence of bishops who were often far from bearing the character Pugin ascribes to the mediæval episcopate. Pugin's manner in illustration is also unwarranted by history: he 'displays much perverted ingenuity in his choice of the living circumstance with which he dresses up his Contrasts-- a licence assumed by all orators and satirists, but good for nothing as an argument' (p.491). Mozley has more to say on this subject: in the etching of altar screens 'Mr. Pugin with his usual licence first contrasts this miserable wall of panels and pilasters [at Hereford] with one of the most beautiful screens in the world, viz. that at Durham; and then, as if that were not enough, he represents the former still as death, and lonely as the north pole, while he makes the former [sic; in error for latter] living with worship' (p.482). Like Wiseman, Mozley notices the effect of the figures Pugin introduces: for him, they are another sign of Pugin's partiality and therefore another weakness.

Perhaps the most immediately striking feature of this contemporary comment on Contrasts is the variety of response it displays. This diversity is in part a result of inescapable if unrecognized subjectivity: according to temperament and according to taste, critics like or dislike Pugin's kind of humour and yield to or resent his dogmatism. It also arises from more conscious sources: the different periodi-

cals represent different, sometimes opposed, stand-points. This is conspicuously the case with regard to religious affiliation: while Roman Catholic journals like the Dublin review welcome and applaud Pugin's book, Protestant commentators like Leeds repudiate what they consider to be his unfounded, deplorable and even dangerous assertions. That sectarian animosity ran high in the Victorian period is a fact which needs no documenting; it was inevitable that a work recommending Roman Catholicism as Contrasts does should provoke alarm and fierce protest in such a climate of opinion as prevailed then, especially as it appeared only a few years after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and at a time when suspicions about the direction in which the Oxford Movement was tending were being deepened and spread by the publication of essays such as Thomas Arnold's on the 'Oxford malignants' in the Edinburgh review.¹ The periodicals vary too in what may be called their philosophy of history: some see the passage of time bringing changes that entail only loss, others regard it as a course of improvement and progress, and they view Pugin's exaltation of the Middle Ages accordingly. The opinions they represent on such general matters as these, together with the nature of the readership to which they are addressed, help to dictate the degree of thoroughness with which they review the book, which elements of it they highlight, and the tone in which they conduct their examination.

The most significant aspect, however, of the diversity of critical reaction to Contrasts is the witness it bears to the novelty of Pugin's publication. Reviewers are unsure

with what kind of book they have to deal. The Athenæum candidly confesses its bafflement; the British critic's opening, 'This is certainly an interesting work' (p.479), only sounds more confident. Both would be happier if Pugin continued to follow 'in the footsteps of his father, by publishing admirable works on Gothic ornament, and in illustration of Gothic edifices' [D27], as the Athenæum says; Mozley decides that 'Architecture is his proper language, his natural channel of expression, not words' (p.481). Some assume that this new book is another work of architectural history, as Leeds does, indignant that Pugin should 'mix up religion at all with a subject professing to be strictly architectural' [D23, p.330], and sneering at his imputed ignorance of current scholarship such as Hope's History of architecture, and as Habershon does when he scrutinizes Pugin's 'data' to see whether they will 'sanction' [D12, p.xvii] his account of contemporary work. Others treat Contrasts as ecclesiastical history, taking issue not so much with the facts themselves as with Pugin's selection of them and the reading of events which he makes them support: hence the sectarian controversy. The Gentleman's magazine indeed notices the 'originality of its character' [D18, p.283] but without particularizing wherein that originality consists, let alone appreciating the significance of it. It is clear that to contemporary readers Contrasts presents a challenge they are not equipped to meet: its generic nature is not obvious to them and it does not immediately fall into any category lying ready to hand. It bears sufficient similarity to categories with which they are familiar to exonerate their attempts to fit it into some

one or other of them from any charge of wilfulness, but no existing genre can accommodate it without either fragmentation or distortion. Pugin's publication is indeed, as 'An architect' calls it, a 'strange and novel book' [D30, p.23].

How to classify Contrasts would have been easier for Pugin's contemporaries to determine had they understood how to read it. Some of them are misled by their expectation of another book of the sort for which Pugin had already gained a reputation many of them acknowledge; some of them are blinded by the tradition of denominational polemic; most of them take it for history, of one kind or another.

While these aberrations derive in part from preconceptions to which the conventions of the time dispose his readers, Pugin himself is to a large extent responsible for their misdirection, for he presents himself to them both as an architect, or at least a critic of architecture, and as a historian. Both versions of the title promise that architecture will be the subject of the book: the pictorial plate offers 'a parrallel [sic] between the architecture of the 15th and 19th centuries' and the verbal sub-title refers to 'edifices' and 'buildings;' the frontispiece showing 'selections from the works of various celebrated British architects' and the full-page 'illustration of the practise [sic] of architecture in the 19 century' which is, albeit satirically, dedicated to 'the trade' point unequivocally in the same direction. The preface sustains this impression and the opening paragraph of the text, announcing Pugin's intention to search out the causes of the change that has occurred in architecture since the mediæval period, does nothing to dispel it. Pugin supplies comparable justi-

fication for regarding him as a historian; so it is that he sees himself. This conception of his role can be deduced from the arrangement he makes of his material, which is organized as a chronological narrative, following events from the Middle Ages with which he begins through the stages of the Reformation and up to the present day, and from his declared purpose of tracing the course of a particular phenomenon through that period. To the thirty-five pages of his text, moreover, he adds twelve pages of appendices, which consist chiefly of quotations from histories and other antiquarian and documentary sources, with some additional interpretation and argument of his own. The conception is also explicit in his insistence on his accuracy and reliability--'This picture ... is forcible, but is not over-drawn' [A3.1, p.21]; 'This is no false picture' (p.50)--and in the assurance with which he appeals to the tribunal of 'the candid and impartial reader to judge if ... [he has] gone too far' (p.48) in an assertion. Above all, it is revealed by his constant and repeated claim that what he is stating is the truth: 'Books have generally been written,' he is aware, 'and plates published, to suit private and party views and interests, in consequence of which the truth has generally been woefully [sic] disguised, and flattery and falsehood replaced sincerity and reality,' but his own case, he maintains, is different: 'In this work I have been actuated by no other feelings but that of advancing the cause of truth over that of error' (p.35). Reviewers who see him in either role exclusively or even predominantly are justified in complaining that he has strayed far beyond the boundaries of his enterprise.

Further flaws and failings

If Contrasts is regarded as history, there are more deficiencies in it than contemporary critics notice. The reader of history can make various legitimate demands of an author. For one, he can ask for impartiality. This attribute of neutrality is arrived at by ensuring that the 'data' [D12, p.xvii], to use Habershon's word, are comprehensive, that all relevant facts, or at least as many as it is possible to ascertain, are sought out and used as the material from which inferences are drawn. If a conclusion favours one side of an argument rather than another, the reader has no ground for complaint when his personal preference is not flattered, provided that the collection of the data, whatever they may be in a given case, has been exhaustive and the examination of them detached. One of the most persistent objections to Contrasts is that it fails to meet this demand; and there is no defending the book against the charge, for as long as it is considered history. Pugin ignores facts; to accuse him of deliberately suppressing them, of conscious dishonesty, would be unwarranted; but it is hard to believe that he was totally unaware of the wars of the Roses, to take Mozley's example. Rather than deriving his thesis from the evidence assembled, he selects evidence to support a thesis already formulated. What foundation is there for his equation of 'Gothic' and 'Christian?' It is no defence to note that John Britton or Thomas Hope anticipated him in the usage;² there is no justification in precedent when there is none in semantics or history for fusing the meanings of the two words and using them, as Pugin does, interchangeably. 'Gothic' is

in origin a political term, subsequently applied to a style of architecture; 'Christian' is a religious one; the two have no common ground. Contrasts refers to St. Paul's, in London; that cathedral is not Gothic: can Pugin mean to imply that it is not a Christian building? He identifies 'Catholic' and 'Christian' too, in an equally tendentious way; in a text that frequently mentions Protestantism and was published several centuries after the Reformation, it is flying in the face of facts to make the words synonymous. Yet Pugin does so, repeatedly; he must, therefore, for this reason as well as those noted by contemporary critics, stand convicted of bias as a historian.

The reader is also entitled to require of the historian, especially if the first paragraph of his text offers to deal with 'causes' (p.[1]), that he explain the connections among the phenomena which he chooses to make his subject, so that they do not remain isolated facts but are given a bearing one on another. If it is the proper business of the historian to elicit such relationships, here again Pugin fails. That the Reformation happened, nobody disputes; but why it occurred, Pugin omits to explain. The mediæval period is, in his representation, a time of perfection; in that perfection it is, by definition, impregnable; yet, in history, it was assailed, by Protestantism in religion and by classicism in art, and successfully overthrown. Pugin assigns no cause for its downfall, overlooking completely the necessity to demonstrate why the perfect Christian faith in which mediæval man is shown to be content and secure should have been felt to be in need of reform, why the perfect Gothic art in which he was happy to express himself should have been superseded by a taste for classical forms. In survey-

ing the course of architecture from the Middle Ages to the present, Pugin links artistic change with religious change in a direct relation: one is presented as the consequence of the other. Catholicism created Gothic, Protestantism by its 'blasting influence' (p.25) destroyed it. 'Yes, it was, indeed, the faith, the zeal, and, above all, the unity, of our ancestors, that enabled them to conceive and raise those wonderful fabrics that still remain to excite our wonder and admiration' (p.3). The whole of his argument for the decline of architecture develops from the posited decline of religion, from the 'fatal effects' (p.3) of the Reformation; and the decline of religion depends on this initial lapse from perfection: yet Pugin neglects to justify the first step in the chain of his reasoning. Confusing mere chronological concurrence with binding cause and effect, he has not provided an explanation at all.

There are other flaws in Pugin's logic. His aim is to persuade the nineteenth century to return to the ways of the fourteenth but he does not indicate possible means by which this can be accomplished. Contemporary architecture languishes in its 'present degraded state' because of 'the utter want of those feelings which alone can restore Architecture to its ancient noble position' (p.3). The feelings in question are the liberality, zeal and devotion as well as the artistic sensitivity and skill of the Catholicism to which the Gothic manner 'owed its birth' (p.3). It does not, however, accord with experience that the practice of the Catholic faith automatically leads to the production of Gothic architecture, let alone great Gothic architecture.

Leeds brings the argument from history when he requires Pugin to explain how Gothic came to be forsaken in countries that remained Catholic; contemporary conditions also expose the invalidity of the assertion, as 'An architect' points out. The resurgent Roman Catholic church in England in the first decades of the nineteenth century did not show an exclusive preference for the Gothic mode, as Pugin eventually had painfully brought home to him when superiors and leaders as influential and powerful as Wiseman and Newman chose to build in other styles. If it were true, however, that Catholicism built only in Gothic, Pugin's cause would not be helped, on his own showing. Without recourse to history or biography, it can be proved from his text that it would be impossible to bring about such an alteration as he desires. When his book insists extensively that modern religion is mere lip-service, that man has fallen quite away from the dedication and faith of the past, and that the feelings with which 'religion is regarded by the majority in this country' are now only 'lukewarm' (p.26), conversion to Catholicism, were it to occur among the people, would be a change of name simply that would not necessarily be attended by any change of heart. By very virtue of their extant Protestantism, to which their resistance to Contrasts displays them stubbornly attached, Roman Catholicism is shown to have no intrinsic appeal strong enough to attract Pugin's contemporaries. It might be thought that a love of the ancient architecture would inspire a revival of old feelings but Pugin goes into considerable detail to demonstrate that the mediæval cathedrals now suffer from indifference, decay and insensitive and incompatible alteration: 'the paltry buildings

erected every where [sic] for religious worship, and the neglected state of the ancient churches' argue 'a total want of religious zeal, and a tepidity towards the glory of Divine worship, as disgraceful to the nation, as it must be offensive to the Almighty' (p.29). The study of ancient forms and practice in copying them might also be suggested as ways to initiate the change which Pugin wants but he stresses that while these have enabled modern designers to imitate old forms accurately their work is 'purely of a mechanical nature' (p.[30]); the inner spirit is absent. 'The mechanical part of Gothic architecture is pretty well understood, but it is the principles which influenced ancient compositions, and the soul which appears in all former works, which is so lamentably deficient; nor, as I have before stated, can they be regained but by a restoration of the ancient feelings and sentiments. 'Tis they alone can restore Gothic architecture to its former glorious state' (p.22). Contemporary man, however, as Pugin describes him, is incapable of precisely those Catholic sentiments which alone make Gothic possible. In short, Pugin is saying that the necessary feelings can be revived by the revival of the necessary feelings: the argument is circular, as it offers no starting-point for the process it urges. The methods Pugin recommends will not lead to the desired result; the alteration he seeks can come about only with a fundamental alteration in human nature.

Pugin is not always strictly logical in his architectural pronouncements either. If the principle that has been called functionalism, 'the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended' (p.[1]), which he

enunciates at the outset of his essay is true--and the esteem in which it has been held ever since 1836 suggests that it is well founded--and if it predominates over other principles, then the cases which he goes on to cite in illustration of its correctness are cases of excellent architecture. 'Acting on this principle, different nations have given birth to so many various styles of Architecture, each suited to their climate, customs, and religion' (p.[1]).

'The more closely we compare the temples of the Pagan nations with their religious rites and mythologies, the more shall we be satisfied with the truth of this assertion' (p.2).

There is thus, by this standard, no ground for claiming, as Pugin proceeds to do, an intrinsic superiority for the Gothic mode. Any reason for that must lie outside the subject, in a preference, in fact, born of other considerations, for Christianity. If, furthermore, architecture is an expressive art and a test of its worth is its capacity accurately to record the spirit of a society, as Gothic is argued fully to register the nature of mediæval man, the public buildings of other cultures must be allowed also to be satisfactory architecture, on condition and to the degree that they express those cultures, which Pugin says they do. On this ground, too, then, there is no foundation in architecture for the posited supremacy of Gothic: again, the judgment must rest on a basis that is not germane to the art.

Exception could justly be taken to a critical method which relies on the importation of such extraneous matters as these in reaching a verdict.

It is essential to Pugin's argument that it be accepted that architecture is expressive of the spirit and values of

its builders, otherwise he has no justification for reading the traits of mediæval society from its buildings. Yet, applied in another context, the notion militates against his declared purpose. How can contemporary society, with the character Pugin describes it as having, produce great architecture? It lacks all nobility of soul, according to his analysis; its buildings must therefore do the same, cannot, while the expressivist principle holds, be other than 'wretched' (passim). The consequence threatens, that either Pugin's theory must be false, that is, architecture does not directly express the spiritual state of a society, or his indictment of nineteenth-century society is unwarranted and in fact its architecture is good in that it reveals the moral poverty of the time. If the former, his vision of the mediæval is baseless; if the latter, his critical purpose is frustrated.

The knowledge of the present that Contrasts displays is derived from its architecture; to that extent, Pugin's argument relies on the expressive quality of contemporary structures. If that power is sufficient to sustain his deductions, if nineteenth-century buildings do express the character of the nineteenth century, if churches are now 'made to suit the ideas and means of each sect' (p.3), are they not, when judged by the criterion of expressiveness, good architecture? If the principle holds good in the Middle Ages and in other countries, why should it not hold good in England now?

There is in Pugin's theorizing another proof that modern buildings are good: insofar as they suit their purpose, Pugin cannot deny their excellence. Wiseman's joke about the modern

bishop's house contains more truth than he realizes: pre-occupied by his aim of satirizing the Protestant prelate, he fails to see that his jest exposes a fallacy in Pugin's argument. In fact, the bishop's house declares its purpose at every window; if he is a man with children, it is right and proper that his house include a nursery; if the house includes a nursery, it is right and proper that this fact should not be hidden but honestly revealed by the structural forms; if the fact is thus revealed, it is right and proper, according to Pugin's dictum, that the house should be regarded as good architecture; but without doubt, in his eyes, it is not. The same contradiction attaches to Pugin's criticism of the internal disposition of Protestant churches: if the Protestant worship requires that the preacher be audible to the whole congregation, 'the sermon being,' as Pugin affirms, 'the only part of the service considered' (p.27), and chapel-goers 'relying on the persuasive eloquence of a cushion-thumping, popular preacher' (p.28), designs which facilitate this end, as that of the royal chapel at Brighton does, ought to be accepted as satisfactory; yet they are emphatically condemned. Here too there is a discrepancy between Pugin's stated principle and the judgment he reaches.

Another of Pugin's criteria is the affective. Buildings, it is said, have an effect on those who behold them, inspiring sentiments which correspond to the qualities of the edifice. All the features of the Gothic cathedral 'alike conspire to fill the mind with veneration for the place, and to make it feel the sublimity of Christian worship' (p.2). Even bad architecture impresses the spectator, although in the direction of disgust, not reverence: 'No one can look

on Buckingham Palace, the National Gallery, Board of Trade, the new buildings at the British Museum, or any of the principal buildings lately erected, but must feel the very existence of such public monuments as a national disgrace' (p.31). No one is exempt from the exaction of an appropriate response. Pugin admits, at least by implication, that the reaction may vary with the nature of the onlooker: 'if we regard the new castle at Windsor, although the gilding and the show may dazzle the vulgar and the ignorant, the man of refined taste and knowledge must be disgusted with the paucity of ideas and meagre taste which are shewn in the decoration' (p.32). Windsor is a case, however, of poor work; where the structure is glorious there is no question that it has the effect of uplifting the beholder. How does it happen, then, that among the 'visitors to these wondrous fabrics, not one ... feel[s] in the slightest degree the sanctity of the place or the majesty of the design, and small indeed is the number of those on whom these mutilated but still admirable designs produce their whole and great effect?' (pp.18-19). If the great architecture of the Gothic past possesses the power to affect in the way Pugin describes, the feeling of veneration and the sense of sublimity should be generated in all who come within sight of it; yet, on his own evidence, this is clearly not the case. An occasional exception might prove a rule, according to the old adage, but it is not the visitors only who are thus insensitive: the ecclesiastical guardians of the structures are equally indifferent, as Pugin repeatedly points out, allowing these magnificent buildings to fall into decay and 'a vile state of repair' (p.21); they are 'men who either leave the churches to perish through

neglect, or when they conceive they have a little taste, and do lay out some money, commit far greater havoc than even time itself by the unfitness and absurdity of their alterations' (p.19). The apathy is almost ubiquitous, by Pugin's account, certainly widespread enough to limit the applicability of his affective principle and challenge its validity: perhaps buildings do not affect all witnesses as Pugin says they do; perhaps it requires a particular temperament to respond to them in the way he postulates.

One component of this affective faculty which Pugin attributes to Gothic seems to be a factor of age. Phrases like 'former years,' 'olden time' (p.32), 'ancient days' (passim), chime through the text of Contrasts and give it some of its tone. In a single paragraph the word 'ancient' can appear four times, followed by two more uses in the next paragraph; the word 'old' (p.24) also occurs twice in a paragraph and twice again in the next. Yet if buildings are 'venerable' (another very common element in Pugin's diction) because they are old, the passage of time will eventually confer the same status on buildings which are now new; and for the moment all contemporary structures are by definition debarred from admiration, not by any intrinsic architectural property but by a fortuitous external consideration. To contrast them, moreover, with buildings from the past is, while age remains the standard of judgment, futile: there is no conclusion as regards merit to be drawn from a juxtaposition where one contender is automatically disqualified before the contest can begin. As a further corollary, it follows that the greater the age, the greater the excellence: therefore the structures of antiquity should win the highest praise--

yet they are the very temples of Greece and Rome that Pugin vilifies and reprobates as pagan.

Another ground of the sublimity exhibited by the structures of the Middle Ages is their size: they are regularly referred to as 'vast,' 'gigantic,' 'mighty,' 'imposing.' Even if the arbitrariness of excluding smaller buildings from all title to excellence is overlooked in favour of the magnificence Pugin dwells on, there is still a flaw in his argument. Size being the criterion, St. Paul's in London must bear the palm from Westminster abbey; but Pugin affirms that 'the abbey church and hall of Westminster still stand pre-eminent over every other ecclesiastical or regal structure that has since been raised' (p.31); and St. Peter's basilica in Rome, as the biggest church in Christendom, must be the most awe-inspiring and sublime structure of all: yet again it is an opinion in which Pugin will not concur. Like age, sheer size is not a prerogative of Gothic.

At other points in his essay, Pugin's criteria are formal rather than expressive, functional or affective. A justification, for instance, for the superiority of Gothic is urged to lie in the outline of its ground-plan, which follows the shape of the cross, nave and chancel representing the shaft, the transepts representing the arms: 'the very plan of the edifice is the emblem of human redemption' (p.2). The design of some Gothic buildings is indeed cruciform but, without ranging beyond the covers of Pugin's publication, it can be objected that Bishop Skirlaw's chapel and St. George's at Windsor, both subjects of contrasted plates, are rectangular in form without projections, while empirical observation further disproves the assertion: the chapel of King's

College, Cambridge, for example, undeniably one of the 'stupendous Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Middle Ages' (p.2), for Pugin calls it 'splendid' (p.[4]), also has no transepts and is thus a simple rectangle. Militating even more strongly against the acceptance of Pugin's dictum are churches like, again to choose examples already employed, St. Paul's in London and St. Peter's in Rome, which have transepts but are designed in the classical manner he abhors. Since a cruciform ground-plan is not an exclusive property of Gothic, it cannot supply a reason for a preference for that style; once again, Pugin's axiom is at odds, not only with evidence from outside his volume, but also with judgments within it.

On the other hand, a number of formal considerations are ignored in Pugin's discussion. He pays no attention to the engineering aspects of architecture, to the questions of methods of construction or strength of materials, for example, or their durability, compatibility or suitability to different purposes; there is no comment on stresses and strains and stability, on depth of foundation, slope and pitch of roof, drainage, the nature of sites and such matters. Nor does he examine more æsthetic elements like colour and texture; by implication he has something to say about pleasing proportion in some of his sketches of modern buildings, such as that of All Souls' church in Langham Place, London, which are drawn in such a way as to exhibit their shortcomings in this respect in a ludicrous light, but there is no study of the question in his text. On a few occasions the nature of materials is specified, like the cement and plaster of Regent's Park and Regent Street and

the brick and composition of Brighton, but his reasons for spurning these are not architectural, not related to their intrinsic physical or technical properties but rather to the niggardliness of spirit which selects them because of their monetary cheapness. Perhaps to some extent because his practical experience in this field was as yet restricted, architecture regarded as the science of construction forms no part of Pugin's subject in Contrasts.

Among these diverse sets of criteria, it is plain that Pugin changes his ground as occasion demands; how wittingly is another matter. Sometimes he founds a judgment on a standard that is germane to architecture; sometimes he resorts to religion for justification and proof; at other times still he certainly seems to fall back on personal preference. He thus provokes charges of inconsistency and bias which are difficult to refute. He is, too, dogmatic, if not arrogant; and he does not always define his terms. What he means by a word like the 'noble' of the edifices of his title, for instance, is not immediately apparent.

The critics criticized

It is clear, then, that contemporary critics of Contrasts are justified in at least several of their complaints. Nevertheless, to agree that they often have cause to find fault is not to accept that all their accusations are valid; nor is it to concede that they are at all times free themselves from the shortcomings of which they convict Pugin. It is not correct to claim, for example, that he gives no reasons for his assertions, as Leeds alleges, although it may be the case that Leeds does not find all his premises sound

and therefore takes exception to his consequent deductions from them. If on the other hand assent is given to an original proposition, the train of reasoning can often follow very cogently. For example, if the office of a bishop is to love God and to lead his flock, providing hospitality, refuge, support and learning, and if the architecture of his house proclaims that he is rather a man who sets private comfort and social position above those ends, and if moreover his calling requires him to be celibate and his house announces that he has a family of children, then it follows, not perhaps that his is a bad house for a bishop, but certainly that it is the house of a bad bishop. Nor is it true, as the British critic states, that Pugin's logic is always at fault; sometimes it is rather the case that it is Mr. Mozley who cannot argue. To see that the period to which Pugin assigns the 'golden era' [D59, p.482] is in fact a time of civil war yet to agree that architecture expresses the spirit of the people who build it and to believe that the Gothic of that era is the greatest architecture that England has ever produced is not itself very logical; and Mozley suggests no alternative period of excellence. Certainly as a historian Pugin is doctrinaire, in presenting evidence to suit his thesis, but his adversaries are guilty of exactly the same practice when in their turn they highlight the atrocities committed in the name of Catholicism and suppress the evils associated with Protestantism. The readings of history advanced by Pugin's opponents are equally partisan with his, but on the other side of the quarrel; none of them escapes from the indictment of denominational partiality they bring against Pugin. They reproach him too for the personality of

his attacks, notably in the plates of his book, on men eminent in his profession, but their own animadversions are scarcely exempt from the same unsightly flaw. Contrasts is, moreover, such a personal book, so much of Pugin's nature, his temperament, his beliefs, his passions, is contained in it and conveyed by it, that it is not surprising that reviewers in response should attack the man himself rather than his work; and they have, in any case, his own precedent and the regular practice of their day to defend them.

Even taken collectively, however, contemporary comment fails, despite the range of its reaction, to expose all the deficiencies of Pugin's publication; it is neither fully inclusive of all the flaws nor exhaustive in treating those negative qualities which it identifies, for these can be developed further as well as added to.

More importantly, it fails to perceive accurately the nature of the work and therefore to do justice to its merits. Expecting an historical essay, it looks for qualities that are not present and, not finding them, it condemns the book. Features which are deemed weaknesses in one kind of writing can, however, become strengths when regarded from another point of view; degrees of prominence alter when a work is viewed from a different angle, and components and relations appear in a new light. If Contrasts is considered not as history but as an exercise of a different sort, many of the faults found by reviewers of the time lapse into insignificance and some cease to be faults at all and emerge instead as virtues. Had Pugin's contemporaries been gifted with foresight, a number of their objections would never have

been made; having available a category in which to classify it, they would have discerned at once that this book is a literary work of a particular kind and would have treated it accordingly. Not being possessed of such an aid, however, contemporary reviewers could not but find it a 'strange and novel book' and they can only be forgiven for not knowing with what, precisely, they had to do.

A reading as rhetoric

Contrasts is undeniably and unashamedly a rhetorical work. It is openly propagandist, seeking converts to the vision of perfection that is born of Pugin's dual creed of Roman Catholicism and Gothic architecture. Its business is not to do justice--how often is its author accused of being unfair!--or injustice; nor is it to write history, of any kind or from any stand-point. Its aim is to persuade, to convince its readers that the views of its author are the ones they should adopt for themselves.

To read Contrasts as history is to misconstrue it. When Mozley in the British critic grumbles because Pugin 'has performed his undertaking more in the spirit of the pleader than the judge' [D59, p.479], he reveals himself to have been sensitive to the tone but to have misinterpreted Pugin's purpose. Again, dealing with the plates, he objects to what he calls Pugin's 'perverted ingenuity in his choice of the living circumstance with which he dresses up his Contrasts' because the tactic is 'good for nothing as an argument;' in dismissing what he regards as 'a licence assumed by all orators and satirists' (p.491), he once more correctly identifies the nature of the practice but treats it as a fault because he is bent on considering Pugin as a logician and it

is not a manner appropriate to that role. In fact, Pugin is the very pleader, orator or satirist Mozley condemns, not the impartial historian he is expected to be.

Leeds too is misled when he looks for reasons in support of Pugin's claims. The paragraph he quotes as 'mere strut and swagger' [D23, p.333] is not offered as argument: 'No one can look on Buckingham Palace, the National Gallery, Board of Trade, the new buildings at the British Museum, or any of the principal buildings lately erected, but must feel the very existence of such public monuments as a national disgrace' [A3.1, p.31]. It is Leeds who is at fault for taking the sentence literally; obviously, if Pugin's description of his own age is reliable, thousands do in fact look, day after day, on the buildings named and not feel their existence any kind of disgrace; and Pugin knows that as well as anyone. The utterance is rhetorical; its absolutism is one pointer to that: 'No one .. but must' admits of no exception. The vehemence and exaggeration of his manner are further indications that his meaning is to be apprehended from the spirit rather than the letter of his words. 'The fact cannot for one moment be denied,' he writes elsewhere, 'that these edifices are totally unsuited for the purpose of the present establishment' (p.20). Again, the mode is hyperbolical: the 'fact' is not a fact at all, since it can be denied and is denied, in practice, as it has been for centuries, by the thousands who worship regularly as Anglicans in the great cathedrals designed for Catholicism without feeling any sense of indecorum. The adverbial 'for one moment' and 'totally' perform an affective rather than a strictly semantic function. Pugin's aim is not to state a fact but to arouse,

to make to feel, to persuade. The exclamations, direct addresses and appeals that his text contains fall into the same category and further demonstrate the mode in which he writes: 'Oh, spirits of the departed abbots, could you behold this!... Oh, vile desecration!' and 'Let no one be deceived; such is the fate that awaits the cathedrals of this country' (pp.21 and 22), for example.

How Gothic came to be discarded from secular buildings would also be plain to Leeds if he saw Contrasts as a rhetorical work recommending a vision of a society united in every respect and not split into religious and temporal departments as he conceives it.

Pugin's dogmatic manner can also be attributed to his urgent desire to persuade, where it is not traceable to his personality. Within the bounds of his rhetoric he is entitled to be emphatic and sweeping, for the sake of his case, for the sake of his cause. Like an advocate in a court of law, he may claim that all truth is on his side and not be blamed for doing so.

Similarly, if Contrasts is recognized as rhetoric, there is no ground for a number of the complaints that are brought against the illustrations. Seen in this light, Pugin's 'restorations' of ancient buildings cease to be a liberty taken with fact, an 'audacious anachronism' [D59, p.482], in Mozley's words, and become, as they are, works of his imagination; it is only if they are treated as a historical record that exception can be taken to them. The old structures are presented by Pugin in all the beauty and perfection with which he can endow them, in the plates; yet the text of Contrasts repeatedly insists on the neglect

and decay from which they now suffer. No contemporary critic notices this discrepancy between the verbal account and the pictorial version but it too can be seen to serve a rhetorical purpose. If Pugin's object is to make Gothic admired, the perfect plate meets it; if it is also his hope to prick the conscience of his time into caring better for the surviving monuments of the Middle Ages, the written account serves that purpose. By this dual presentation, of the actual disrepair and indifference and the potential beauty which is claimed to be original, Pugin gets the best of both worlds.

Time and again, when reviews labour the injustice of the choice of buildings exhibited in the plates, they misconceive the nature of Pugin's work. It is no part of his aim to be neutral, to set side by side subjects which are strictly comparable because alike in every respect, specimens of good architecture from both periods, for instance, if these could be found in the later time. On the contrary, his purpose is to contrast; where to bring together totally similar subjects would therefore be to frustrate that intention, to juxtapose subjects of unequal merit is to execute it. A critic like Habershon exposes the alleged unfairness of the plates in a way that is thorough enough to succeed in cancelling their impression if the business of the book is correctly conceived as that of making an accurate record; but in fact the plates survive this destructive operation. They do so because they are works of beauty, on the one hand, and equally deliberate ugliness, on the other, and so appeal, first and foremost, to the æsthetic sense of the spectator. When measured by the reaction of the viewer--and that is

instantaneous, for 'the eye decides almost intuitively' [D32, p.361], as Wiseman rightly notices--the imbalance is a telling strategy. After he has been thus captured, if the viewer's sense of justice is addressed by the plates at all, it is the justice of Pugin's assessment that it is called upon to endorse, not any unfairness that may be thought by some to be done to an individual architect. The illustrations in Contrasts are a rhetorical instrument for making the beholder take sides.

Some, indeed, of Habershon's objections prove Pugin's very point. It may be by accident that a modern police station has the name of a cross, but Pugin would argue that the Middle Ages with their sense of decorum would not have let such an accident happen or at least continue, would not have let such a name be so applied--or misapplied; more than that, their society would not have needed a police force, in the first place. Likewise, a monarch in the mediæval period would not have built such a chapel as that at Brighton, private, exclusive and fashionable; his would, on the contrary, have been a huge edifice, on a scale corresponding to his munificence and piety, capable of housing a multitude of his people and welcomingly open to them all.

Apropos of the etchings in Contrasts, Pugin's critics also disapprove of his practice of using a single specimen to represent a whole class. How he could have included in a single volume all examples of all the types of structure he discusses is a question they do not consider; nor, more importantly, do they discern that this is the method of Pugin's argument as a whole, in his text as well as his

plates. He takes architecture, which is only a part of life, and designs a complete society from the features of this one art. This is to treat architecture as a symbol, to use it as a kind of intellectual shorthand, standing for and summarizing a range of further concepts. Such a synecdochic practice is a common device in literature and is one more justification for regarding Contrasts as a rhetorical work. It is just such a tactic as Carlyle will employ when he makes the monastery of St. Edmund's represent the whole mediæval dispensation in Past and present.

The human figures Pugin sketches into the illustrations are another technique of recommendation. Wiseman comes close to appreciating the function of the contrast between the 'picturesque procession' that 'streams forth' from the ancient parish church and the 'slender congregation' which 'trips out' [D32, p.361] of the modern equivalent; but once again Mozley, within an ace of recognizing the purpose of the figures, rejects his insight, when he sees that Pugin represents Hereford 'still as death, and lonely as the north pole' while making Durham 'living with worship,' and yet dismisses the effect as another instance of Pugin's 'usual licence' [D59, p.482]. The figures are introduced to the plates to make one of each pair of drawings attract and the other repel; and in describing their effect, Mozley, albeit unwittingly, has hit upon exactly the quality of each that Pugin wants to stress and urge. His vision of the Middle Ages is a picture of organic vitality, 'living with worship;' the modern world, by contrast, is still as death and man's existence in it is lonely as the north pole. The figures give life to the illustrations of ancient buildings and deny

its presence in the modern. They are intended to bear out and ratify the argument of the text; and the testimony of Wiseman and Mozley, oblique though it may be, proves that they do so. Mozley calls the figures 'the living circumstance' (p.491); he is nearer to their value than he knows.

Early reviewers are divided in their opinion of the relation between the text and the illustrations. Perhaps because he already shares Pugin's Roman Catholicism and so is not as troubled and distracted by the sectarian propaganda of the work as others are, Wiseman alone perceives that they are linked; the rest, for as long as they expect Pugin to be writing architectural history, are justified in seeing them separate. Except for the passing mention of the buildings of Christ Church, Oxford, in the text and the illustration of its main gateway among the drawings, not one subject of the plates is so much as referred to in the text. Conversely, none of the buildings such as Westminster abbey or Ely cathedral which are discussed in the text reappears in the plates. There is no literal connection of that sort between the two parts of Pugin's book. Here, then, is another reason for regarding Contrasts as an exercise in rhetoric. The plates are symbolic and Pugin uses them to express the discrete spirits of the two worlds, mediæval and modern, which he has contrasted in his essay. The text spells out what the plates will visualize; the plates visualize what the text has spelled out. There is a change of medium but no change in Pugin's essential theme. The recommendation of the perfection of the vision of the past and the critical indication of the failings of the present which further define and corroborate that perfection are still his concern.

The general references of the text to mediæval tombs and altars, masses and processions carry over into the drawings of the old world; and their artistic beauty as well as their subject-matter reinforces the connotations of the diction of the written portion: the plates display the 'venerable,' 'solemn' character of the past which the text regularly mentions, 'the sanctity of the place' and 'the majesty of the design' [A3.1, p.19]. The correspondence extends to longer passages, provided that specificities are overlooked. The text contains an extended description of the vicars' close at Wells:

When these buildings were constructed, the vicars were a venerable body of priests, living in a collegiate manner within their close; each one had a lodging or set of two chambers, [sic; in error for ;] a common hall where they assembled at meals, and a chapel, over which was a library stored with theological and classical learning, stood at opposite ends of the close. All these buildings were of the most beautiful description... (pp.24-25).

Pugin could be verbalizing here the life lived beyond the gateway of Tom Tower or within the walls of Ely palace, subjects of two of the drawings.

The modern plates bear out Pugin's text in the same way. He states that contemporary churches are ugly, plain and cheap; and he proves his point by drawing St. Pancras and Hereford. Their designs, he maintains, are bad; and he adduces the rotunda of All Souls' as pictorial evidence. He writes in general terms about monuments, which are 'incongruous and detestable,' 'vile masses of marble,' 'most inappropriate and tasteless' (p.21); and by way of illustration he offers the earl of Malmsbury. The chief consideration among the congregation is its ease; so he displays

the congregation, 'snug and comfortable' (p.15), and fashionable too, in the royal chapel at Brighton. He writes in more detail about modern ecclesiastics: they have left off 'discipline for ease and comfort; exchanged old hospitality for formal visiting; and, indeed, become laymen in every other respect but that of their income and title' (p.24). The old buildings are 'but ill suited to their altered style of living,... very unfit for a married, visiting, gay clergyman, or a modern bishop, whose lady must conform to the usages and movements of fashionable life' (p.24). What is needed now is 'some large rooms for parties; a veranda, and perhaps a conservatory' (p.24). Pugin provides an apt illustration for this new way of life in the fitting picture of the episcopal residence in Mayfair's Dover Street.

The ratification which the text and the plates extend to each other descends to particulars also. Blind yet again to the implication of what he perceives, Mozley archly 'suppose[s]... that the spiked palisade' around a sepulchral monument 'is considered to be significant, as Mr. Pugin takes every opportunity of exposing our universal use of gates and "bars of iron"' [D59, p.492]. Visible in eight of the illustrations, while chains can be seen in a ninth, iron railings are, indeed, a conspicuous feature of the modern plates of Contrasts; and they are given that prominence because division is a conspicuous feature of modern society as Pugin describes it in the text; railings erected as barriers and defences are the visual equivalent of the separation and exclusion that fragment the contemporary world.

The nature of yet another element of Contrasts is explained, if Pugin's presentation of the mediaeval world

is regarded as an imaginative vision rather than a version of history. The quotations in the appendices display a revealing unevenness in the restriction of their scope: they all refer to one section of the argument only, the one dealing with the Reformation, the occurrence Pugin blames for the deterioration that he alleges has overtaken architecture between the Middle Ages and his own century. None of them documents the mediæval period, none of them substantiates the existence of the society Pugin applauds. They bear out some of the facts upon which he rests his case for the decline of architecture; and that is all. It can be questioned whether selection of evidence to suit the thesis is a fit practice for a historian but it may be a legitimate strategy in rhetoric. Certainly the documentation of the destruction and ravages wrought upon monasteries and other ecclesiastical edifices at the time of the Reformation helps to confirm and convince; and Pugin can be fairly excused from the obligation of providing documentary support for the complaints he lays against the nineteenth century as readers of the day could assess their justice for themselves, since the physical evidence was all around them and Pugin invites them, in the text, to inspect it, often telling them where to look. The absence of any citation to authenticate the existence of the era of perfection, however, must, when it is the sole omission and conspicuous therefore, damage the cogency of the argument, for as long as this is regarded as turning on history. If, on the other hand, Contrasts is viewed as a work of rhetoric, the omission ceases to be a blemish and serves instead to prove the point that what Pugin puts forward is a vision of an ideal derived not from

fact but from imagination.

The edition of 1841

When Pugin came to prepare the second edition of Contrasts, published in 1841 by Charles Dolman in London instead of in Salisbury by Pugin at his own expense as the first edition had been, he revised and expanded the text considerably; he retained all the plates except one, a petty and personal attack on Sir John Soane which it was not much to his credit to have issued in the first place; and he added five new ones [A3.2]. With one exception, however, these alterations seem not to have been made in response to the criticisms advanced in reviews of the original publication. Some of these Pugin had already replied to, not only in the correspondence in the Salisbury newspaper previously noticed, but in two separately printed pamphlets also. When the editor of Fraser's magazine refused to carry his answer to 'A batch of architects' [D23] Pugin published it himself, not later than May 1837 [A10]; but the charges made by Leeds which he deals with, namely that his conversion to Roman Catholicism was due to æsthetic considerations not religious conviction, that he was ignorant of the source of certain Christian rites, which Leeds claims was heathen, and that he had asserted that Gothic ceased throughout Europe because of the change of religion, have no bearing on the modifications subsequently made to Contrasts. An apology for a work entitled 'Contrasts;' being a defence of the assertions advanced in that publication, against the various attacks lately made upon it, which Pugin paid to have published in Birmingham later in the same year, probably in August, does not admit the justice of any reviewer's com-

plaints either, nor point in the direction of the changes that were effected several years later. On the contrary, Pugin proclaims himself 'fully prepared for all the censure,' to come as well as already brought down, which so 'bold' a venture as the publication of Contrasts is bound to call forth; to issue such a book 'requires much zeal, determination, and fortitude, but in none of these respects shall I be found wanting.... when I had decided [to publish], I did so with a determination of defending it against all attacks' (A9, p. [3]). What sustains Pugin in such militant and hostile circumstances is his certainty that he possesses the 'truth' (p. [3]).

To the reader of 1841 who accepted these claims and the insistence of Contrasts itself that it is a vehicle for the 'truth,' it must have come as a surprise to discover the author opening his preface to the second edition with a ready welcome to the opportunity he now has to 'correct some important errors which appeared in the original publication' (A3.2, p. [iii]). Pugin adopts a different view of some portions of his subject. The period immediately before the Reformation is no longer extolled as pre-eminent but instead found to display signs of the incipient degeneration that will soon set in in full force. This altered view is the consequence of a shift in the date of the catastrophe that overcame art; Protestantism is no longer held solely responsible; rather, the decline began earlier, because of a failure in Catholicism which allowed Protestantism and the classical style which Pugin calls 'paganism' to gain a foothold. This new construction of events is judged by Pugin to be necessary as a result of his continued study of history

and he acknowledges his indebtedness for the illumination to the writings of Montalembert, from whom he quotes at length in an added appendix, and those of Rio.

Having been encouraged, five years earlier, to admire the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, and the palaces of Greenwich and Hampton Court, the reader of 1841 now finds himself expected to follow his author in condemning them. In the version of 1836 buildings from the years just before the Reformation commenced are said to have 'attained a most extraordinary degree of excellence;' the arts have arrived at their 'greatest perfection' and deserve 'the highest admiration' (A3.1, pp. [4] and 5). In 1841 it is announced that they exhibit 'various symptoms of the decay of the true Christian principle' (A3.2, p. [iii]). The first edition aims to demonstrate 'how intimately the fall of architectural art in this country, is connected with the rise of the established religion' [A3.1, p.15]; the second ceases to treat 'Protestantism as a primary cause' of the alleged degeneration and instead holds responsible 'the decayed state of faith [within the Catholic church] ... in the fifteenth century' (A3.2, p. [iii]). 'England's Church was not attacked by a strange enemy and overthrown, she was consumed by internal decay' [A3.2, p. iv].

These changes in fact deliver a mortal blow to Pugin's pretensions to historiography. He claims in his Apology for 'Contrasts' that he 'reflected long' (A9, p. [3]) before issuing his book in 1836; but the tone of defiance that grows increasingly marked through the sequence of early responses to criticism in 1836 and 1837, and the twists and turns he is forced to take there in an endeavour to clarify the relation

he sees between Protestantism and the fall of Gothic, suggest that he had not reflected long enough and perhaps suspected it. Then in 1841 appears what is tantamount to an admission that all his historical theorizing has been wrong.

Pugin's credibility as a historian is in grave jeopardy. Given his assumptions, a revision of his æsthetic judgment entails a new moral interpretation: the edifices of the fifteenth century are no longer noble (Pugin changes the title of his work, too), therefore the society of the fifteenth century can also no longer be noble. Insofar as this shift of opinion, like that which rejects the design for a chalice in the early sample-book, is a result of continued study and increased knowledge, Pugin can be respected for the scholarly integrity which openly confesses a mistake and rectifies it. He seems, however, not to perceive that such a chronological relocation of the period of artistic excellence may require a redefinition of spiritual quality. He alters his reading of the spiritual state of the fifteenth century, certainly, but his interpretation of the fourteenth is unaffected; yet he had treated the two centuries as a continuum in 1836 and could be expected to see a necessity to review the nature of the fourteenth in consequence of its disjunction from the fifteenth. He seems also to fail to realize that his new assessment of the fifteenth century calls in question the validity of his equation of spirit with form. The form, the architecture of the fifteenth century in this instance, remains in fact the same in 1841 as it was in 1836 and it cannot while it is thus constant give rise to two mutually incompatible readings of its spirit, cannot be simultaneously the product of a noble society and of an ignoble one. Although

Pugin appears unaware of it, this change between the two editions constitutes a fundamental threat to his argument for his case is deprived, by his acknowledgement of error, of the objective authority which he had claimed for it and shown to rest instead on personal perception. The excellence of architecture is revealed not to be inherent, after all; rather, it resides in the opinion of the observer. Since opinion must change, as Pugin's has done, when previously unknown or unconsidered but relevant information is brought to bear on it, its provisional as well as its subjective nature is disclosed. Given, then, a change of criteria such as must precede Pugin's revaluation of the buildings and the society of the fifteenth century, what is to prevent his estimate of the nineteenth being likewise totally reversed? The soundness of his appreciation of the Gothic period becomes an even more critical question. Why should he continue right in some cases when he owns himself wrong in others? What validity remains, what validity can remain, in his claim to purvey the truth? Has his authority gone, along with his discrimination? Is he still entitled to his reader's trust?

If Pugin recognizes this challenge to his initial thesis, he ignores its impetus. He was, he affirms, and he still is 'perfectly correct in the abstract facts, that pointed architecture was produced by the Catholic faith, and that it was destroyed in England by the ascendancy of Protestantism' (A3.2, p. [iii]) and he continues to be 'quite ready to maintain the principle of contrasting Catholic excellence with modern degeneracy' (p.v). If by the statement that 'pointed architecture was produced by the Catholic faith' Pugin means only that the great Gothic structures of the Middle Ages were

built at a time when England was wholly Catholic, he is 'perfectly correct' (p. [iii]); the statement is unexceptionable. If, on the other hand, he means more than that, or something different from it, as he does, then he falls into the trap of confusing chronological concomitance with necessary cause and effect. It is patently not true, for example, that the Catholic faith produces pointed architecture at all times and in all places: St. Peter's in Rome is again a substantial objection. Indeed it is not even clear that it was among Catholic people that the Gothic manner originated; the pointed arch is certainly a characteristic of other styles, for instance, the Moorish.

The revision of the argument of Contrasts is not seen by Pugin to entail any obligation to change the indictment of the nineteenth century or the exaltation of the mediæval period. Nor does it have any effect on the plates. Here again is proof that what Pugin offers is not history, since it can survive change in the historical material which is supposed to support it. The plates of 1836 that are kept in 1841 are arranged in an order different from their original one but this alteration, too, is not made in response to the changes in the text; again, the relation is not direct and literal but rhetorical and imaginative.

As for the new plates, it is one of them which hints at the only deference Pugin may have shown to contemporary objections. Fane had rehearsed the charge against ancient Catholicism of diverting revenues intended for the relief of the poor to the erection and embellishment of churches. Pugin leapt to spurn 'so foul a calumny' [A7] and went to great lengths in citing examples to disprove it; he returned

to the subject in the Apology for 'Contrasts,' giving a glowing description of the lot of the poor.

Among the manifold blessings enjoyed under the exercise of the ancient faith, none deserves more special notice, than the happy state of the lower classes, caused by their constant access to religious buildings and solemnities, and the temporal relief dispensed to them by ecclesiastics. It is to the poor and humble man, whose worldly pilgrimage lies in an obscure and barren track, that the Catholic Church imparts the greatest store of blessings. Without faith and the wondrous consolations of religious joys, how abject and wretched must be the lot of such a being! with them, who on earth tastes truer joys? [A9, p.23]

There is much more in the same vein. It is possible that this reaction to Fane prompted one of the plates drawn for the edition of 1841.

Confirming the tendency that emerges more and more clearly in the course of his early sketches and publications, the two most important of the new plates demonstrate as unambiguously and succinctly as any item in the whole corpus of Pugin's work the way in which in his treatment art becomes and is seen to be an index of life. In each of them architecture is a prominent interest but it is architecture as it is used and built for use, as it reflects human needs and social institutions, as the revelation of a way of life.

In the picture of the mediaeval town which is added, fourteen of the sixteen named buildings are churches, the other two being the Queen's cross at the road junction and the Guild hall; the town is walled, trees grow along the banks of its river and the bridge allows free passage. The significance of these details is defined by the adjacent view of 'the same town in 1840.' Where the consistent practice of Gothic betokens the existence of a happy society with a single religious faith in the 'Catholic town of 1440,'

the buildings of the new town are uniform only in their monotonous ugliness. Of the original fourteen churches, only two 'remain,' one re-built and the other in ruins; all the rest have gone and in their place have been erected four new chapels, one new church, one meeting-house, a building for the 'new Christian society' and a 'Socialist hall of science;' denominations have become legion. In addition gas-works and iron-works have sprung up and a lunatic asylum and, most conspicuous of all, a new jail which occupies what used to be open land available for the enjoyment of all. The peaceful old cemetery has been enclosed and converted into 'pleasure grounds' for the exclusive use of the family at the new parsonage. The river-banks, appropriated to commerce, have been turned into wharves, the trees all felled; the bridge is closed by a toll-gate requiring a fee. Like the signs of nature, the marks of a free and generous community have disappeared; the evidence here is for social exclusiveness, a competing proliferation of sects, mechanized and therefore dirty and noisy industry, the pursuit of money, the existence of madness and of crime. In this plate, uniquely, Pugin does not divide the page into two equal halves; both pictures are the same width but that of the modern town is shallower while the mediæval one is deeper. The greater height of the Catholic town provides free space into which the numerous spires can soar; the emphasis in the manner of drawing is on the verticality which reflects men's aspirations and Heaven-directed lives. In 1840, it is the horizontal that is stressed; the buildings give an impression of heavy weight and the sky of crushing them, so that the earth-bound nature of modern man is clearly set forth. Above all, what

is made apparent is the erection of barriers in the modern world: separateness is the rule, unity has gone.

The other significant new plate displays an even more overtly human interest. 'Contrasted residences for the poor' sets a magnificent suite of Gothic buildings, huge chapel, master's house, dining hall as well as sleeping quarters, surrounded by spacious lawns, walks, gardens and open fields, against one of the most uncharitable structures ever conceived, an angular, windowless cross between a fortress and a prison strongly reminiscent of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. Where the 'antient poor house' has banks and banks of chimneys, its modern counterpart has very few stacks indeed. Bordering the bird's-eye view of each institution Pugin sketches vignettes of episodes in the lives of the inhabitants. The mediæval poor man is richly and warmly dressed, nourishingly and plentifully fed, benevolently cared for--and, if need be, gently chastised--by the dutiful and affectionate master and mourned by his fellows at death. The fate of the modern pauper is the exact opposite: his minimal diet is scarcely enough to sustain life, he has nowhere to sit but on the floor, where he huddles shivering in his thin clothes; his top-hatted master carries a whip and fetters instead of an open money-bag; discipline is enforced not by kind words but by bludgeons, locks and keys; and when he dies, the modern pauper receives not a decent burial from his sorrowing brethren but a final humiliation, the sale of his corpse for dissection by medical students. The last unity, literal corporeal unity, has gone; division hounds modern man even unto death and beyond.

Conclusion

What Pugin needs to do to escape from such dilemmas of logic and history as are inherent in his thesis in the first edition of Contrasts and thrown into glaring relief by the alterations made for the second is to release his argument from its bondage to the specificities of fact; but that is a course permanently closed to him. His own convictions and the career to which they led him preclude the acknowledgement that his vision cannot be located in actuality. To concede that what he fervently clings to and advocates is an ideal would be, in his judgment, to diminish its reality and so weaken its power and to postpone, if not altogether remove, the possibility of its realization. He dedicates all his life, both his professional effort and his spiritual strength, to the revivals of Gothic architecture and of Roman Catholicism, which are for him indissolubly combined. He believes passionately in the restoration of both; their possibility is a reality, for him.

Had Pugin been able to free himself from the compelling need to authenticate by which almost everything he wrote shows him to have been driven, he could have removed his vision from the reach of many of the attacks to which it lies open. To transfer it from the historical ground on which he rests it to a different, less easily assailable foundation would, insofar as it pre-empted adverse criticism, strengthen its force. In some circumstances the citing of precedent confirms argument; but when the precedent does not exist or at least turns out not to exist where it was said to do but to be somewhere else, it is diplomatic to dispense with it altogether and rely on other virtues. Such a libera-

tion would also train attention on the subject which is principal and therefore requires it. Pugin's vision has its intrinsic merits; it can stand without the warrant of actuality. His failure to provide evidence for it beside all the authorities with which he shores up his account of the Reformation may suggest that he glimpses this; on the other hand, his surprise and even indignation when objections were raised against it indicate that he was not conscious that his picture of the mediæval world was not an accurate one. Therein lies the irony of his position: had his representation been more exact, his book would have been less important. Therein, too, therefore, lies his triumph: it is because the vision is imaginative that it takes hold and endures.

Towards the end of his life, in a moment of despondency, Pugin remarked that he had passed his life in 'thinking of fine things, studying fine things, designing fine things, and realizing very poor ones' [A54, p.11]. He was referring to the execution of his artistic inventions but the observation has its relevance for his writings too. For the modern reader, perhaps for many Victorian readers, the value of Contrasts resides in its power of 'thinking of fine things.' Its Gothic vision is essentially an imaginative creation; the architectural structures which give rise to it have--or have had--literal reality, but the society Pugin's imagination sees constructing and occupying them, living among them, does not--and did not: the reason why documentation for the mediæval period is missing from the appendices to Contrasts is, simply, that it does not exist. The reality possessed by the vision is the reality of imaginative truth; it is on that ground, literary rather than historical, that it finds

its justification. The reader who is willing to suspend his disbelief, who is ready to overlook the naïve attempts to fix the vision in a precise historical context and accept it instead as fiction, encounters a 'fine thing' indeed, a compelling and timeless ideal.

How compelling, Pugin could not possibly have foretold. Contrasts is the earliest example of the rhetoric of social criticism which developed to be the tradition of mediaevalist literature in the Victorian period; Pugin is a forerunner of great writers like Carlyle, Ruskin and William Morris, the man who, of all major nineteenth-century authors, most closely resembles him in his artistic talent, his versatility, his social concern and his energy. Morris published News from Nowhere more than fifty years after Contrasts appeared. In that interval the reasons why, despite the undeniable faults from which it cannot be exonerated, with all its illogicalities and its prejudices, Pugin's book commanded the attention of Victorian readers become clearer. 'The impact of Contrasts was profound. The enlarged edition of 1841 sold in vast numbers' [D709, p.142]. The purchasers were not architects only; as the range of journals which reviewed it indicates, it reached beyond the specialist few and drew the notice of readers in general. Such a response was what its true nature requires. Contrasts addresses itself to concerns which came to be central preoccupations of the Victorian age; therein lies the cause of its appeal.

CHAPTER 4

Pugin in controversy

Activities after the publication of *Contrasts*

After *Contrasts* was published, the amount of work Pugin had to do as an architect increased to astonishing proportions. Two connections formed before the book was issued continued to require his help: Charles Barry employed him in the preparation of drawings for the Houses of Parliament until early in 1837 and then from 1844 onwards engaged him regularly to make designs for all the fittings of the new palace; and, as he had done since 1829, James Gillespie Graham, architect in Edinburgh, retained his assistance until at least the mid-1840s.¹ As regards work on his own account, there was the re-building of Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire to be attended to; because the earliest designs to survive are dated simply 1836 it is not possible to determine whether they precede or follow the appearance of the book but Pugin's major undertakings there did not begin until 1837. The diaries for late 1836 and 1837 record the commencement of a number of associations which were to be extremely important to him.² How he made the acquaintance of the man who became his principal private patron, John Talbot, sixteenth earl of Shrewsbury, is not clear; the story in Ferrey's biography of their meeting can be discounted as highly improbable even if it cannot be disproved; the role of intermediary is best filled by Daniel Rock, chaplain to Lord Shrewsbury and one of the most erudite Catholic ecclesiologists of the century, who was drawn to open a correspondence with Pugin by seeing his designs for *Gold and silversmiths* and to whom Pugin in response sent

a copy of Contrasts in September 1836. The first reference to the earl in Pugin's diaries occurs in the following month; and from the next year Pugin worked for him, chiefly at and in the vicinity of his estate of Alton Towers in Staffordshire, but not only there, until the end of his career.³ In March 1837, perhaps on the recommendation of Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin paid his first recorded visit to St. Mary's College, Oscott, the Catholic seminary near Birmingham, where he was very soon appointed professor of ecclesiastical antiquities and which in due time, under the presidency of Nicholas Wiseman rather than of his predecessor Thomas Walsh who welcomed Pugin, became a main centre for the reception of converts from the Oxford Movement.⁴ In November of the same year Pugin was at Gracedieu in Leicestershire, home of Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, also a convert to Catholicism, for whom he designed a number of churches and other buildings, including the first monastery to be erected in England since the Reformation [see D621].

Pugin was thus in touch with the aristocracy and the episcopate of the church which Contrasts had shown him so eager to champion; and from these quarters he received many of the huge number of commissions, for churches in particular, which he was to execute during the next decade. As Contrasts indicates, he was not content with only planning buildings; he wanted to design the furnishings for them in addition. The year 1837 sees also the formation of his friendship with John Hardman of Birmingham who soon began to manufacture items of ecclesiastical and other metalwork to Pugin's designs and later made his stained glass as well.⁵ By 1840, it seems, Herbert Minton of Stoke was making encaustic tiles for him and by about 1844 J.G. Crace producing textiles and furniture

in London.⁶ Pugin's influence could not be limited to the Catholic sphere: he was in contact with members of the Camden society in Cambridge before the end of 1841⁷ and, largely through the agency of his great friend J.R. Bloxam of Magdalen College, with tractarians in Oxford even earlier.⁸ By the middle of the century he was organizing his own display in the mediæval court at the Great Exhibition [see, for example, D356 and D408]. Pugin had become a national figure.

It is not fanciful to think that Contrasts was in some measure instrumental in securing Pugin at least some of these clients and some of this notice, even if the way of its influence cannot now be charted. To attribute the publication to any ambitious or calculating desire on Pugin's part to gain himself a large practice is to overlook his generous--and, some would say, naïve--nature; but the book had, all the same, precisely that effect. Pugin was designing churches and fittings for them all over the country and beyond before he was thirty, from King's Lynn to southern Ireland, from Ushaw near Durham to Salisbury and perhaps even in France. The quantity of travelling he did, as reported by his diaries, is prodigious; more than one thousand miles in one week, so he wrote to Jane, his third wife;⁹ and besides shorter trips he made an extensive journey on the Continent nearly every summer to collect what he called his 'authorities,' sketches of original mediæval details and objects that he could use as models.

Publications after Contrasts

Given the extent of his practice and the demands it made on his time, invention and energy, well nigh inexhaustible

though the latter two seem to have been in his case--not to mention a private life which eventually brought him a family of eight children to look after--and given the acceptance of the Gothic style and the advance of Catholicism which his business betokened; given, moreover, the degree to which some at least of his commissions were allowing him to translate his vision into actuality, as at Alton Castle, for instance, where his noble patron displayed the concern his station required by setting out to provide church, chapel, convent, school and hospital in one group of buildings [see D697], it would be pardonable to surmise that Pugin considered Contrasts to have fulfilled its proselytizing aim and that he need therefore write no more. In fact, quite the reverse is true. To the end of his life Pugin continued to write and publish, issuing, if anything, more at those times when his professional practice was at its more taxing than at others; and he projected more books than he found time to complete. It is no wonder that when he fell ill late in 1851, irrecoverably as it turned out, his doctor said, according to Pugin's report, that he had 'lived 60 years in 40;'¹⁰ James Daniel of Ramsgate would have been nearer the mark had he said 'in fifteen.' Seven books followed Contrasts, besides lectures, pamphlets, articles in journals, letters to newspapers, descriptions of his churches, and illustrations for the publications of others as well as of his own designs. In the circumstances the output is extraordinary.

Listed like this, the writings look various in format; and so they are. The subject-matter of the different items is disparate too: the paintings hung at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Arts; how a bishop's income should be

derived; the correct form of the chasuble; why Pugin provided illustrations for an Anglican work of hagiography; a definition of the nature of his responsibilities at Westminster; an attack on the moral character of Thomas Cranmer; the history of stained glass. Some of the pieces are very slight, occasional, even fortuitous: Pugin issued an assurance of his dutiful, daily invocation of St. Joseph [A55] only because a critic of his treatise on Screens had questioned his devotion to the saint. He was quick to suspect a personal application in a general observation and quick to resent a slight; often what he writes is self-defence, conducted typically by way of restatement of his original proposition. The catalogue of subjects serves nonetheless to indicate the multiplicity of Pugin's concerns.

By no means all the publications are ephemeral, however; and the considered discourse of the full-scale books, especially the three on which he was working simultaneously in 1841, the second edition of Contrasts [A3.2], True principles [A29.1] and the first part of the Present state [A28.1], might be thought to give a more accurate reflection of his interests than the range of the lesser pieces. Here Pugin is seen expounding, advocating, defending the twin preoccupations of his life, Gothic architecture and Roman Catholicism; and these two themes could indeed be traced in the fugitive pieces too and thence held to reduce the miscellany of writings into two comprehensive categories and make their diversity manageable.

Some early writings

Such a classification is to some extent satisfactory.

True principles, the published version of two of the lectures Pugin gave at Oscott, is certainly about mouldings and joints in stone, about rafters and braces in wooden roofs, about the shape of hinges and other matters of that sort; and it opens with the enunciation of the two axioms which give it its title and which have been so influential in subsequent thinking about architecture that historians of the subject rate this book the most important of Pugin's publications. It is undeniably an architectural work and a significant one, although Pugin's contemporaries did not take as much notice of it as they did of Contrasts when it appeared; only one substantial, thorough review was published, that in the Polytechnic journal [D113], which may have been written by Leeds, who seems to have enjoyed scoring at Pugin's expense. Yet if the two principles, that the form of a building should bear a direct relation to the purpose for which it is intended to be used and that ornament should consist only of the decoration of the necessary construction, adequately define the contents of Pugin's volume, how is, for example, the following passage to be accounted for? The 'ancient gentry on their estates ... did not confine their guests ... to a few fashionables who condescend to pass away a few days occasionally in a country house' but were men of a different stamp:

under the oaken rafters of their capacious halls the lords of the manor used to assemble all their friends and tenants at those successive periods when the church bids all her children rejoice, while humbler guests partook of their share of bounty dealt to them by the hand of the almoner beneath the groined entrance of the gate-house. Catholic England was merry England... [A29.1, p.70].

This is hardly writing about architecture, either by

the contemporary standard provided by Rickman, Hope and Willis or by any other criterion. No definition of the term can be made wide enough to embrace such discussion as this and keep its identity. As was the case in Contrasts, what Pugin is describing is not a building but the life that he imagines was lived in it; his comment, in other words, is social, not architectural.

The other category, that created by the theme of Roman Catholicism, turns out to be equally specious. Pugin's contributions to the Orthodox journal, supplied during 1838, are known to have been written expressly to encourage Catholics and dismay others; he states in a letter to E.J. Willson, Catholic architect in Lincoln, who had collaborated with A.C. Pugin in his publications, that the articles will be 'a capital medium for attacking the protestant.'¹¹ Yet when he takes up the topic of portrait-painting in one of them in order to praise the mediæval way of it and denounce the modern, although his tone is polemical, it is not Protestantism with which Pugin does battle. For as long as he is thought of as writing Catholic propaganda, the following humorous, lively and acute passage can only be regarded as a digression:

What loads of ill-painted faces line the rooms; what heaps of miniatures in round, square, black, gilt, and all sorts of frames; curly-headed boys with hoops; boarding-school misses feeding kittens; tight-laced and ringleted young ladies dressed for the ball-room; school-boys galloping on ponies; sprucely-dressed gentlemen looking inconceivably silly; ladies playing with poodles and fans, or vacantly staring; portly citizens and old beaux--all are to be found to the life; then the family group, with the mamma reclining carelessly on a sofa in the centre, the pet by her side, the elder daughters copying flowers and tambour-working, the husband surveying the whole group with great complacency, while the

fore-ground is filled up by the more juvenile branches stuffing fruit or breaking toys, and the portly form of a nurse entering in the back-ground with a jumping squaller completes the tableau (All, pp. [17]-18).

If this is 'attacking the protestant,' it is so only insofar as the Protestant shares the characteristics of the middle classes in general and perhaps, beyond them, of all humanity. The target of Pugin's satire is vanity, which is not a sectarian matter: it can hardly be claimed that Catholicism by definition exempts Catholics from that failing, as indeed Pugin goes on to reveal that he recognizes. Taken at its face-value, the title of his essay is misleading: the 'Ancient style of family portraits' leaves its nominal subject far behind and turns, as Pugin means it to do, into an exhortation to humble devotion, its objective not primarily denominational although generally religious, not æsthetic but moral.

A comparable movement is apparent in a more extended piece of writing like the letter on the Protestant memorial of 1839. Sections of this indignant pamphlet are sectarian in their animus, directed to displaying the true nature of Cranmer and so discrediting him and his similarly 'apostatizing, church-plundering, and crafty' [A24, p.24] fellow-reformers that the notion of commemorating them becomes untenable; but the argument, in Pugin's hands, slips easily into reflections on education and how it should be conducted. Since Oxford is the place where the proposal originates and where the memorial is to be erected, the topic can be considered tangentially linked but it is hardly germane.

It is evident from passages like those quoted that Pugin's concept of architecture and the related arts as an

index of life permeates more of his publications than Contrasts; and on the basis of that relation his commentary shifts readily and naturally into social and moral discourse. Still he holds up for admiration his vision of the Middle Ages, and it is worth noting that just as he offers no documentation in history for his account of mediæval hospitality in True principles, so many of the objects discussed in the articles in the Orthodox journal are no longer in existence but are described as Pugin, often on the strength of exceptional learning, believes they must have been: the ideality, in short, persists. The extracts cited, however, are drawn from early in Pugin's career, from the years spanned by the two editions of Contrasts; their character could therefore be imputed to a youthful enthusiasm that waned with time. Later writings, it might be thought, may be different: further experience, greater knowledge of men as well as books and buildings, might modify Pugin's attitude, even make him relinquish his ideal altogether. In the abstract the hypothesis seems justified; and there is, as it happens, one striking passage in a late publication which appears to bear it out.

Earnest address

By some people, Pugin writes,

All, anterior to the Reformation, is regarded and described as a sort of Utopia:--pleasant meadows, happy peasants, merry England,--according to Cobbett--bread cheap, and beef for nothing, all holy monks, all holy priests,--holy everybody. Such charity, and such hospitality, and such unity, when every man was a Catholic. I once believed in this Utopia myself, but when tested by stern facts and history it all melts away like a dream [A56.1, p.13].

At first sight this is a startling utterance to proceed from

the author of Contrasts, from the man who wrote that 'Catholic England was merry England.' It looks like a flat contradiction of what had previously been advanced with force and sincerity; the crude diction and dismissive tone seem to make a mockery of the reverence with which the reader of Pugin's early volumes had been encouraged to regard the Middle Ages; furthermore, given the date of composition, the passage, coming as it does at the end of his career, appears to constitute a wholesale repudiation of the very vision that had inspired and sustained all Pugin's intervening endeavours to restore Catholic art.

The extract occurs in a pamphlet published in 1851, An earnest address on the establishment of the hierarchy, and the occasion accounts in part for the matter and tone. Pugin's immediate aim in issuing it is to persuade the ecclesiastical authorities to keep the newly recognized Roman Catholic church in England free of ties and obligations to the state and to exhort members of the communion to ensure by their generous gifts that their church can afford to dispense with political patronage and maintain itself apart from the secular power. In urging this independence, Pugin is not developing a new line of argument. Already in his letter on the Protestant memorial he claims that the 'overthrow of the ancient and true religion in this country sprang entirely from temporal causes' [A24, p.27] and he expands the thought in the second edition of Contrasts; now, in 1851, amidst, on the one hand, the heady and hopeful excitement generated in the Catholic church by the formal restoration of the hierarchy that had been lost at the Reformation and, on the other, the hysterical public outcry against the act of 'papal

aggression' that was viewed as a threat to the sovereignty of England because it divided the loyalties of some of its citizens--at this time, Pugin is afraid lest ecclesiastical privileges be surrendered, religious liberties curtailed, spiritual integrity compromised; he expatiates, therefore, on known instances in history when the church had been corrupted by the attractions of civil wealth and power; and some of these instances fall within the mediæval period. In another pamphlet, An address to the inhabitants of Ramsgate [A49], published sooner after the announcement of the re-establishment, late in 1850, besides pleading for tolerance from his fellow-townsmen, Pugin disavows any political ambition in the church that legitimately desires the restitution of its ancient rights; here too he is anxious to distinguish the religious province from the lay.

In this activity Pugin is, of course, as in other writings, to some extent defending the church into which he has been received. Nevertheless, the impulse is not simply sectarian, tout court; the fate of his Earnest address proves that. That pamphlet extends to the Church of England such sympathy that it came close to being denounced as heretical; it was thought by some to imply a validity in Anglican orders and therefore to warrant delation to Rome and placing on the Index. Reasons for Pugin's leniency towards the Church of England lie in external circumstances. The Catholic church under the official leadership of Wiseman and the less public but if anything more formidable influence of Newman was by 1850 favouring the neo-classical Italianate style in architecture; where the Gothic manner was eagerly patronized was in the Church of England, largely in conse-

quence of the efforts and recommendations of the Ecclesiologists who had been pleased to learn much from Pugin until their indebtedness drew accusations of popery and they had to sever the connection to survive, and to a smaller extent through the influence of the Oxford architectural society with which he had also been associated--indeed he had forced himself on the attention of this society by sending an unsolicited letter [A32] to one of its members, James Ingram, president of Trinity College and a man nearly forty years his senior, in order to contradict an opinion about spires which Ingram had expressed at a meeting of the society. Pugin saw, if not the irony, at least the implication of this alignment of the English church with Gothic architecture and his Earnest address is written with the express object of healing 'the sad, the sickening divisions that now afflict this land' [A56.1, p.2] in its religious life. Other details of Pugin's biography in his last years also suggest that, seeing the Catholic church he loved turning against the Gothic architecture he loved, he considered returning to the Anglican fold; certainly, in happier days, he had yearned for its reunion with the Catholic and believed, while the Oxford Movement was at its height, and as letters to Shrewsbury, Phillipps and Bloxam show, that this result would come about.

Just as the redrawing of chronological boundaries between the first edition and the second does no damage to the essential vision of Contrasts, so the manœuvring in this later case need be no violation of it either. It can be seen rather as another attempt to preserve the vision intact. The shift in Contrasts lops off a century in time; these twists and turns, culminating in the rejection of Utopia in

the Earnest address, jettison the secular areas of experience. If perfection has been spoiled by the inroads of temporal considerations, temporal considerations must be eliminated. If the protection of the ideal necessitates sacrifices, so be it: Pugin never shows himself much interested in theology, either in his reading as the scope of that is made known by his library or in his writing, and he can be no match in doctrine for the trained intellects who are his ecclesiastical superiors, although the spectre of the postponement of the realization of the dream that their disapproval entails can alarm him. It can be doubted that he fully appreciates the ramifications of the olive-branch he extends to Anglicans but it can hardly be questioned that the threat he sees posed to his vision by the events of his last years accounts for the lengths to which he feels forced to go to defend it. They are lengths that reinforce the argument for the essentially imaginative nature of his vision. The attempt to square it with actuality, past or present, involves him in illogicalities, impossibilities, impertinences and derelictions: 'when tested by stern facts and history it all melts away like a dream.' This is so, however, only for as long as it is regarded as having ever had an objective reality; the perception is right but, bent on locating his dream in history, Pugin draws the wrong conclusion from it. Seen as imaginative truth, the vision soars free, leaving on earth the spectacle of a passionate, dedicated, lonely man driven to desperate shifts in his endeavours to protect it. About a year after the publication of his Earnest address Pugin went mad; within about eighteen months he was dead. It may not be fanciful to think that the opposition of members of

his own communion to the vision that empowered him to make an immense contribution to the advancement of that church imposed some of the strain that finally broke his spirit.

Within the Earnest address the effect of these few lines of apparent renunciation is more than countered by their context. They co-exist with statements which show that Pugin's belief in his vision of perfection is as steady as ever. His increased knowledge of history may make him acquainted with lapses from the highest standards but his mind's eye can still show him the 'reverend array of bishops and abbots and dignitaries, in orphreyed copes and jewelled mitres' (pp.2-3), who led 'noble ... lives' (p.12) in the 'olden and better days' (p.4) and were responsible for 'noble foundations and works of charity and piety' (p.11), who with 'unalloyed zeal and devotion' had constructed the 'fretted vaults of the glorious old chapter-houses' (p.14), the 'most glorious monuments and most sacred shrines' (p.11) and other 'great and glorious monuments that yet remain unrivalled' (p.13), who upheld the 'ancient dignity of religion' (p.12) and saw to the 'instruction of the people' (p.2). When Pugin tells how the old order was 'betrayed' and 'corrupted' (p.2), his diction presupposes a prior time of faith and purity. His text rests as much as ever on the principle of contrast that articulated his first important work, the difference being simply that here it is assumed rather than expounded.

Such notices of this little tract as have been traced in the contemporary press concentrate almost exclusively on its theological implications. Those written by Catholic priests rebuke Pugin for his rash and ignorant wrong-headedness in venturing to deal with doctrinal matters [D346, D350 and D360],

while the references in Church-of-England newspapers are delighted [D341A, D349, D354A and D371A]. The critical perception of the work is entirely sectarian; no attention is paid to a passage like the following where it is neither Catholicism nor Anglicanism nor (begging, for the moment, the question of the episcopal requirement) any other denomination that is at stake:

The moment a rich old fellow dies, all the relations to the ninetieth degree turn up and assemble, and if they understand his money has been left to the church the indignation is general. Was there ever such a monstrous thing known, when he had so many relatives, and some so slenderly provided for? One of his nephews had married on the strength of his expectations, and was now burdened with a numerous family, who would be wholly without fortunes. Another had enlarged his dining-room, and built a conservatory on the same grounds, and this money to go to the bishops; they would not allow it, they will have law. A lawyer is present and steps forward; he quite agrees; it is certainly a case for a British jury; he would be happy to conduct it himself; though a Catholic, he considers family interests should be protected. Proceedings are begun; and to prevent scandal and expense, and the glorious uncertainty of the law, half the property is made over in a compromise, and is the speedy cause of a dozen secondary suits among the relations themselves, who do not consider that they are fairly dealt with by each other. And now another bishop considers he has a prior claim or equal right on the residue. The first bishop cannot admit the justice of the premises. It must be referred to arbitration. Grave men travel up to London, put up at first-rate hotels, keep up good cheer, drive about in glass coaches, see sights, and occasionally sit in a back room round a green baize table. Portly and sinewy lawyers, with attendants bearing blue bags full of documents, read long extracts from interminable deeds. Rejoinder next day, all the preceding arguments demolished, time is up, but to-morrow the first party will again address on fresh grounds. Days go by, one week gone, hotel bills running on, the cost of a small parochial church in the second pointed style swallowed up already, proceedings becoming a bore, a compromise proposed, could not two mutual friends settle it? They agree, divide

again, and deduct expenses. Only one-third of the whole sum reduced by subdivision to a very moderate amount. Both bishops reported to be immensely rich, and to have received an inexhaustible fortune, no subscriptions in consequence. Pious ladies are astonished that anything should be expected from them under such circumstances. Both bishops set forth what is quite true, that the sum received was so reduced as to be comparatively small. Nobody believes it, or if they do, they pretend they do not, and excuse themselves for not giving on those grounds. Both bishops are considerably minus at the end of the year that the great benefaction fell in (pp.21-22).

This is satire, not ecclesiastical polemic, satire in a mode that has been traditional for centuries, and its target is not a rival creed but a moral failing--and a spiritual one: the world is too much with the legacy-hunters. The passage proceeds naturally from Pugin's argument: as he wants a church unvitiated by secular preoccupations, so he wants its members untainted by temporal strife. From the life of the individual human being as from that of the institution, the struggles of the civil arena are to be eliminated in order that the vision may be kept secure in its pure, spiritual serenity.

Wealth and power thus banished, the political sphere and the temptations and corruptions to which it can lay man open proscribed, Pugin's imagination can envisage a future even more glowing than the past into part of which he has had to admit that evil made its way: his condition fulfilled, church kept separate from state, he can promise 'a reign of Catholic glory to which the mediæval splendours were as nothing' (p.31), a state of 'unity of action and unity of soul' when men will be 'liberal to religion, and devout and thankful to God' (p.32).

Pugin has caught the optimism of the day. Increased

knowledge having closed the possibility of fixing the perfect time in the past, he relocates it in the future. There is no hint that he appreciates the utter impracticability of his proposal, even were the condition of independence he advocates ubiquitously regarded as desirable. Postlapsarian human nature stands colossally in his way and the charge of preposterous absurdity lurks dangerously near. He is saved from that, immediately, by his contemporaries' preoccupation with sectarian concerns; what may exculpate him now is his imperious need to protect his ideal.

Screens

Pugin issued another publication in 1851, a book this time, and again a work of which the precipitating occasion lies in contemporary ecclesiastical history. A treatise on chancel screens and rood lofts [A59] was the last blow delivered in a campaign he had been waging, in print since the late summer of 1848 soon after his cathedral church of St. George had been consecrated in London, and in wood and stone for nearly ten years before that, on behalf of the screen surmounted by a rood that in the interior arrangement of a church divides chancel from nave and cleric from layman. The primary thesis he deduces from the mass of scholarly documentation which he assembles is an architectural one, how the space within a church should be disposed and controlled, but the underlying motive of the production is not so remote from the concerns of the contemporary but almost entirely unarchitectural Earnest address as that suggests, for the purpose of this volume also is to enhance the sanctity of religion. What Pugin contends for is the

reverence he believes is instilled by the enclosure of the sanctuary: the congregation is filled with a sense of humility by its exclusion from the holiest place while the solemnity of the service is intensified by its conduct in a part reserved for the ordained alone; above is raised the figure of Christ crucified, reminder of divine sacrifice and redemption on the one hand and sinful mortal unworthiness on the other.

The topicality of the treatise on screens is patent. For the antagonists he seeks to overcome, Pugin borrows from a French source the word 'ambonoclasts' [A59, *passim*]; and his portrait of the modern ambonoclast is a satire, often a witty and a comic one, on the writers in the Rambler, a newly founded Catholic periodical that had economic besides liturgical reasons for objecting to screens; it also contains a thrust at Newman, to whose Essay on the development of Christian doctrine, published in 1845, it makes clear allusion (pp.98-99) and who, though not directly connected with the journal, gave firm advice to the editor, J.M. Capes, who frequently solicited it. Pugin had been in conflict with the Rambler almost since its inception. Its report of the opening of St. George's had elicited a long statement from him on 'Catholic church architecture' in the Tablet in September 1848 [A41]; a year later its desire to employ the church's limited funds on education rather than ornament had provoked his letter to the Weekly register with the ironic sub-title 'Why this waste?' [A47]. Its advocacy of tuneful hymns in which the congregation could join had precipitated his Earnest appeal for the revival of the ancient plain song [A50]; and his Remarks on the 'Rambler' [A54]

was a direct condemnation of its values. Now in Screens he openly attacks the journal again. In his presentation the ambonoclasts in the Rambler, together with the three other general classes of opponents he identifies, are enemies to religion; they have no feelings of devotion, no respect, no generosity, no æsthetic sense; in their different ways they are all godless.

Against them Pugin sets, according to his habitual mode of antithesis, his vision of perfection. It is distinguished by beauty and by bounty and by faith: in 'older and better times' [A59, p.5] men made and made sure of, for instance, gospels 'written in golden text on purple vellum, bound in plates of silver encasing ivory diptychs, and deposited in portable shrines, like relics' (p.7); they listened to 'those heralds of solemnity, the bells, whose brazen notes can animate a whole population with one intention and one prayer!' (p.112). The church as building is at the centre of his inspiration; it is a place of 'sanctity,' 'stupendous,' 'holy' (p.107);

not only the disposition of the fabrick itself, but every enrichment, every detail harmonises in setting forth one grand illustration of the faith. The windows sparkle in saintly imagery and sacred mysteries, the very light of heaven enters through a medium which diffuses it in soft and mellowed hues. What a perspective is presented to the sight, of successive pillars supporting intersecting arches, leaving distant openings into aisles and chapels! Then the chancel, with its stalled quire seen through the traceried panels of the sculptured screen, above which, in solemn majesty, rises the great event of our redemption, treated after a glorified and mystical manner, the ignominious cross of punishment changed into the budding tree of life, while, from the tessellated pavement to the sculptured roof, every detail sets forth some beautiful and symbolical design; how would

such a fabric strike to the heart of a devout soul, seeking for the realization of ancient solemnities! (pp.107-8).

The scene outdoors is as beautiful as that within and rendered more so by the contrast with modern appearances:

When we now behold the city of London, with its narrow lanes, lined with lofty warehouses and gloomy stores, leading down to the banks of the muddy Thames, whose waters are blackened with foul discharges from gas-works and soap-boilers, while the air is darkened with the dense smoke of chimneys rising high above the parish steeples, which mark the site of some ancient church, destroyed in the great conflagration, it is difficult to realize the existence of those venerable and beautiful fabrics where the citizens of London assembled in daily worship, and whose rood lofts shone so gloriously on Easter and Christmas feasts. But this great and ancient city was inferior to none in noble religious buildings; and in the sixteenth century the traveller who approached London from the west, by the way called Oldbourne, and arriving at the brow of the steep hill, must have had a most splendid prospect before him; to the right the parish church of S. Andrew's, rising most picturesquely from the steep declivity, and surrounded by elms, with its massive tower, decorated nave, and still later chancel; on the left the extensive buildings of Ely-house, its great gateway, embattled walls, lofty chapel and refectory, and numerous other lodgings and offices, surrounded by pleasant gardens, as then unalienated from the ancient see after which it was called, it presented a most venerable and ecclesiastical appearance. Further in the same direction might be perceived the gilded spire of S. John's church of Jerusalem and the Norman towers of S. Bartholomew's priory. Immediately below was the Fleet river, with its bridge, and the masts of the various craft moored along the quays. At the summit of the opposite hill, the lofty tower of S. Sepulchre's, which though greatly deteriorated in beauty, still remains. In the same line, and over the embattled parapets of the Newgate, the noble church of the Grey Friars, inferior in extent only to the cathedral of S. Paul, whose gigantic spire, the highest in the world, rose majestically from the centre of a cruciform church nearly seven hundred feet in length, and whose grand line of high roofs and pinnacled buttresses stood high above the group of gable-houses, and even the towers of the neighbouring churches. If we terminate the panorama with the arched lantern of S. Mary-le-Bow, the old tower of S. Michael, Cornhill, and a great number of lesser steeples, we shall have a faint idea of the ecclesiastical beauty

of Catholic London (pp.76-77).

The familiar words chime throughout Pugin's text: 'majestic, noble, glorious, splendid, unrivalled, venerable, sacred, ancient, solemn'--and, on the other hand, 'irreverent, miserable, profane, debased.' The diction is a powerful agent in making the vision attractive; Pugin knows how to deploy the æsthetic appeal of its connotations.

The spiritual case of modern man is as black as the waters of the Thames. Pugin describes a wealthy land-owner who all his life has neglected his faith and finds himself now at the point of death

when the world to whom he has sacrificed all is passing away from him for ever! His gay companions of the turf who have cheated him, and fattened on his rents and lands, have left him to die alone,--not one of these jovial friends are [sic] there. A few mercenary attendants hover round, to watch the last, and divide what they may. No chapel or chaplain: the priest has long been driven out to live on a distant portion of the property; the old chapel is a disused garret, where a few moth-eaten office-books and unstrung beads tell of the departed piety of the older members of the family. But many years have elapsed since holy rites or holy men were there seen or heard. Stupified with disease, the wretched owner of a vast estate, childless and deserted, draws near his end. He has wasted a life which might have been one of usefulness and honour. He has impaired a property which was ample enough to have enabled him to have placed the religion of his fathers on a noble footing; he might have founded missions, established schools, encouraged his tenants, and been the means of bringing numerous souls to God. But he has done nothing--he has got nothing, but the whitening bones of some racers that cost him thousands, lost him thousands, and were shot in an adjoining paddock, and stocks of empty bottles, consumed in entertaining worthless associates, and a broken constitution now bearing him to a premature end. It is over. He is no more. Unrepentant, unshriven, unanealed, his spirit has gone to judgment....the chamber of death is close and still: the Protestant undertaker encloses the festering corpse in costly coffins [sic], hideous

in form and covered with plated devices, but not one Christian emblem among them all;...[At the funeral service] the clergyman of the parish, in a loosely fitting surplice ill concealing his semi-lay attire beneath, [was] attended by a decrepit clerk, ... [and they] alternately recited the appointed office. The executor, the lawyer, and the undertaker's men, with some curious lookers-on, are alone present at this sad and desolate spectacle.... all depart--the executors to the will--the undertakers to the nearest tavern (pp.114-16).

Here in this passage from Screens, severance from God and severance from man are still the predominant features of Pugin's vision; unity remains the quintessence of his ideal.

A.N. Didron, the French ecclesiologist and archæologist, personally known to Pugin, states that this work of Screens caused 'une grande sensation en Angleterre' [D345] but only four reviews are known besides his short notice in a Parisian journal, and one of them is American, that in the New-York ecclesiologist, which considers the book 'not very learned, or involving much research' [D397, p.44]. The other three, in English periodicals, are willing, like Didron, to pay tribute to Pugin's remarkable scholarship. The mention in the Lamp [D363] is otherwise negligible. The Ecclesiologist, an Anglican publication, goes on to pronounce the satire sometimes 'too bitter' [D359, p.206] but is pleased by Pugin's praise of the Church of England. This last is something the Tablet, a Catholic newspaper, objects to; it also regards the portraits of the ambonoclasts as 'hardly suited to the pages of a scientific and quasi-theological treatise;' and finds his comments on some contemporary Catholic rites 'a very bad mark' [D370, p.315] against Pugin. 'Architecture cannot be permitted thus to interfere with the science of theology.... Mr. Pugin is a great architect' but he 'errs

in taking on himself the functions of a kind of prophet, raised up to teach a fallen Church' (p.315).

The ideal maintained

If the most striking aspect of the critical response to Contrasts was its failure to apprehend accurately the nature of the work it attempted to assess, here, about fifteen years later, at the end of Pugin's career, something of the same ineptitude persists. Perhaps satire of human greed can be justified as a proper concern in an essay on the financial government of the church, but what have the cleanliness of the river Thames, the masculinity of writers in the Rambler--Pugin calls them 'old women of both sexes' [A59, p.98]--and the rewards of a life of reckless dissipation to do with chancel screens? The little comment there is on the Earnest address misses all but the sectarian issues it wants to see; reviews of the treatise on screens notice more but deny the admissibility of it. In both cases the primary subjects of the works are indeed those declared by their respective titles but in neither is the area of interest indicated by the title sufficient to comprehend the whole scope of the publication. Pugin himself senses this: after a long passage devoted to education towards the end of his book on screens he remarks: 'If this illustration be considered unsuitable for an architectural work, I reply that ... true architecture is intimately mixed up with education and the formation of the mind' (p.117). His immediate concern, as in his first important book, is still set in a wider context: architecture, viewed in the physical manifestation of the screen or in the moral light

of the generosity that ensures the enrichment of the house of God, remains for him an index to the quality of life and so what he writes becomes something greater than architectural discourse.

Pugin saw himself as a teacher. When, apropos of his Earnest address, a priest reproved him in public print for straying into areas like theology where he was not competent to pronounce, he was stung into a reply and declared that he was 'a builder up of men's minds and ideas, as well as of material edifices' and would continue to 'write, and exhort, and denounce' [A57] as long as he felt it needful. In his view, there was an immense 'moral foundation' [A57] required before art could be appreciated, let alone produced, even before it could be wanted; and he considered it his duty to try to lay that foundation. Didacticism is part of his concept of his function and his responsibility; and the lessons cannot be restricted to architecture. Since it is essentially a way of life with which he is dealing, to complain because he confuses theology with architecture or obeys a moralizing impulse is to reveal a deficiency not in his work but in the reviewer's power of understanding. The identity of these charges with those brought against Contrasts is impossible to mistake; all they prove is that Pugin is still writing his distinctive brand of literary work, social criticism in the mediaevalist mode.

Pugin never deserts his ideal. The vision which enables Contrasts to rise above the contemporary response and surmount its just criticisms is one to which he remains constant throughout his life. Whatever difficulty he has in defining its exact historical manifestation, whatever eventual dis-

grace in justifying its practical implications, he is true to its spirit always. Significantly, when those sections of Contrasts in which it finds its most condensed and brilliant expression, the two passages already quoted in the second chapter of this study (pp.17-18 and p.21), are transferred from the edition of 1836 to that of 1841, one is kept quite unaltered and the other differs only in being expanded: other elements are changed but the vision is not. All Pugin's publications, substantial or fugitive, meditated or spontaneous, however diverse in format, however various in ostensible subject-matter, can be seen to serve the purpose of the ideal in some way or other. It is his vision which unites his disparate writings one with another, as it unites the publications with his other works in architecture and the applied arts, even indeed with his way of life, which he ordered, wherever he had the choice, to be consistent with his ideal. At the outset of his career his scholarship and intelligence are called in question by his attempts to anchor the vision in fact; at the end of his life it is his religious orthodoxy and submission that are challenged and he has to suffer episcopal censure on behalf of his ideal. There are, too, bouts of dejection when his volatile temperament veers into disillusion and for the moment he seems to repudiate his dream; yet even these are found, upon examination, to support the essential ideality of his vision.

Fidelity to it forces him to revision and retrenchment and contradiction, in his writings; and it need not be sensational to suggest that, in his biography, his tenacity

in clinging to it helped to drive him mad. Yet, without it, his life is unimaginable; it is the sole focus of his multifarious activities; and it explains why people in his own day were prepared and even eager to listen to him.

Since its first enunciation took them, however, by surprise, the following chapters will look back over some of his predecessors before going on to canvass reasons why his contemporaries might have been attracted to his ideal.

CHAPTER 5

Some earlier views of the Middle Ages

The question of Pugin's originality

If the picture of the Middle Ages which Pugin puts forward in Contrasts is rightly apprehended as the presentation of an ideal rather than an account of actuality and his book therefore belongs to that extent to the domain of literature instead of to that of history, the question arises whether there are fictional precedents for his vision. How much his ideal exceeds the limits set by the factual manner in which Gothic architecture was usually discussed in his time has already been seen; how much it departs from avowedly fictional representations of mediaeval life becomes apparent when it is placed beside historical novels of the period. As, moreover, it turns out to differ from these literary works as much as it has been shown to diverge from typical contemporary discourse about architecture, a further question must arise, namely the issue of Pugin's originality. Are there, in whatever field, precedents for his vision? If so, what are they and what impact did they have on Contrasts?

Scholars have proposed various answers to these queries and, after a discussion of some historical novels, this chapter will proceed to notice those answers, offering a minimum of comment except in the case of the most sustained examination of the issue, Phoebe Stanton's article on 'The sources of Pugin's Contrasts' [D737], which warrants thorough scrutiny. The point should be stressed at the outset, however, that no endeavour will be made to treat the

question with the fullness that it requires. To do that, to determine the nature of Pugin's debt to predecessors and fix thereby the degree of his originality, lies quite outside the scope of this thesis. An investigation of that topic would, as the scholarly commentary to be surveyed in this chapter indicates, entail examination of a number of areas of study that are not only large in themselves but diverse in addition. German philosophy is likely to have played a part; so, evidently, is French architectural theory; English ecclesiastical history clearly makes a contribution; it may be that Catholic controversial writings do so too.

That list is not likely to be exhaustive. Pugin's correspondence testifies that, in later years at any rate, he kept an alert eye on relevant current periodical literature; and throughout his life he was a keen buyer of books: it was a sign of a severe shortage of ready cash when he wrote to Hardman in a letter which is undated but not earlier than 1844 that he must forbid himself the pleasure and interest.¹ The catalogue of those volumes of his library which were sold soon after his death reveals that he did not usually stint himself in this regard and that his taste was informed and judicious as well as expensive; but Sotheby's list is a record of what he had acquired by the end of his life and can throw no more light on what might have influenced him at the beginning than can his later correspondence [D401]. While probabilities can be postulated, certainty seems to lie out of reach. Should the attempt to establish the degree of his originality be undertaken, it may turn out that intellectual antecedents

for Pugin's ideal will be found but it may also appear that the vision is a unique compound of hints from many quarters fused into a new entity by the power of his imagination and his personality. Certainly the reactions of reviewers of Contrasts in the late 1830s suggest that the latter eventuality is the more plausible.

The scale of the enterprise, however, precludes at present anything more than a glance at its size and what may be only some of the intellectual territory to be explored in conducting it. The subject is, as has been said, a large one and cannot be accommodated here, for to pursue it to a worthy conclusion would lead to an unjustifiable distortion of the present argument. Even as it is, the review of sources already proposed by others may seem to constitute a digression; but there are reasons which make it necessary. It sets Pugin's vision in some perspective; such total originality as might be inferred from silence on the point is, a priori, at least improbable; and the most comprehensive attempt so far made to address the issue manifests shortcomings sufficiently grave to require adjustment and even correction.

Walter Scott

At the time when Pugin's vision was forming and maturing, the greatest exponent of the genre of the historical novel was Walter Scott, 'that beloved writer who has made a chief part in the happiness of many young lives.'² While there is no proof that Pugin was one of those eager readers whom George Eliot had in mind, he has himself left evidence that he was acquainted with adaptations at any rate

of three of the novels, for his 'Notes for an uncompleted autobiography' mention productions of dramatized versions of them. He records that the opera 'Peveril of the peak' was performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on Monday 23 October 1826 and comments that it was 'sucessfull [sic];'³ on Saturday 20 May of the same year and at the same theatre 'Woodstock,' a five-act play, 'was not very sucessful [sic]' (p.26); and there is no reason to suppose that Pugin was not present on both occasions. In the case of 'Kenilworth' he was certainly a member of the audience, on 31 May 1831, as is shown by an entry in his 'Autobiography:' 'I went ... to attend the representation of Kenilworth at the King's Theatre' (p.28). His interest in this production was keener than mere attendance imports. An earlier paragraph in the 'Autobiography' explains why: 'March 3 [1831]. The ballet of Kennilworth [sic] composed by Mr. Dehayes; for this ballet I painted 2 scenes: the interior of Cumnor Place and Greenwich Palace with the exception of the back cloth by Mr. W. Greive [sic]. I likewise furnished documents for costume and other scenes of the ballet' (p.28).

By none of these adaptations, if they are assumed to have been at all faithful, can Pugin have been prompted towards his interpretation of the Middle Ages. Peveril of the peak, published in 1823, and Woodstock, published in 1826, are set too late in time, both in the second half of the seventeenth century; Kenilworth, issued in 1821, is set earlier but not early enough. Scott's presentation of Renaissance England, moreover, is too impartial to chime in with Pugin's forthright and comprehensive denunciation

of that period. Where for Pugin Elizabeth I is 'that female demon' [A3.1, p.44], Scott writes of her in moderate terms, admitting her weaknesses candidly but gently and giving praise where he considers it to be due. Figures like Leicester, the ambitious nobleman, Alasco, the quack, Foster, the turncoat, Lambourne, the opportunist, and in particular Varney, godless villain of the deepest dye, may seem to support the charges of duplicity and atheism Pugin levels against the age, but Leicester and Foster certainly are given redeeming features and Scott's range includes other characters, notably Tressilian, who are as unquestionably good as Varney is indubitably bad. To classify the persons of the story in this way, however, is to leave out of account Scott's broad tolerance and his genial sense of humour as well as the demands of his art: Kenilworth is a 'romance,'⁴ a humane novel and a well-told story, not a moralistic tract. Scott is curious about the earlier time, attracted by the splendour of its pageantry and eager to make his details correct, as the Shakespearean echoes and citation of antiquarians prove, but he is not interested in turning the clock back to an age of such disorder, precarious power, cruelty and superstition as he clearly believes to have obtained then. The specificities of architectural style are all one to him: Kenilworth Castle presents 'on its different fronts magnificent specimens of every species of castellated architecture, from the Conquest to the reign of Elizabeth, with the appropriate style and ornaments of each' (pp.345-46) but with no more investigation from Scott; nor does he seem in favour of a return to the rule of Roman Catholicism.

Had Pugin felt the literary influence of Scott, who,

according to Newman, 'turned men's minds in the direction of the middle ages,'⁵ and read those of his novels that are set in the mediæval period, he would have found no more warrant there for his view of feudal England than Scott provides for his concept of the Reformation. There is no novel set in fourteenth-century England, the time and place held up for admiration in Contrasts, but Ivanhoe, published in 1819, depicts England in the time of the crusades and of chivalry and the Fair maid of Perth, issued in 1828, displays the fourteenth century in Scotland. While Scott explains in the dedicatory epistle to Ivanhoe that his aim is to 'excite an interest for the traditions and manners of Old England' (p.33), and the first sentence of this enormously popular 'Historical Romance' (p.4) refers to 'merry England,' the opening paragraphs go on to mention 'Civil Wars' (p.[25]), 'convulsions,' 'destruction,' 'dangers,' 'sufferings' (p.26) and so on.⁶ Scott appeals to his reader's sentiment of patriotism but he does not gloss over evils or ask the reader to approve the time. In his opinion the last decade of the twelfth century is clearly a period of violent commotion. Richard, 'a generous but rash and romantic monarch' (p.527), is king in name only over much of a realm that is deeply divided by the entrenched, incessant and calculated hostility of two races, tyrannical and licentious Norman conquerors on the one hand and oppressed, vengeful Saxons on the other. The latter have the greater share of Scott's sympathy but his eyes are as wide open to the primitive state of their culture as to the scarcely more advanced civilization of their over-lords. Ignorance, fanaticism, superstition and prejudice are as widespread

as greed, treachery, lust, ambition, cruelty, hatred--the catalogue of barbarity and vice is long and Scott's contempt for the age is not always masked.

On point after point, he differs from Pugin. Morals, he claims, are 'better understood now' (p.502); for the most part, he maintains that human nature is much the same at all times--'The passions, the sources from which these [sentiments and manners] must spring in all their modifications, are generally the same in all ranks and conditions, all countries and ages' (p.19)--and if there has been any change between the twelfth century and the nineteenth it has been in the direction of improvement. Art in the Middle Ages could produce a missal 'having its pages richly illuminated, and its boards adorned with clasps of gold, and bosses of the same precious metal' (p.491) but the hangings on the walls of Rowena's apartment are embroidered only 'with all the art of which the age was capable' and 'modern beauty' (p.77) is cautioned against envying such magnificence as is attained there. The gathering of the Knights Templar reaches a moment of solemnity when 'The deep prolonged notes, raised by a hundred masculine voices accustomed to combine in the choral chant, arose to the vaulted roof of the hall, and rolled on amongst its arches with the pleasing yet solemn sound of the rushing of mighty waters' (p.421) but the bigoted and blood-thirsty purpose for which they are assembled, the 'trial' of Rebecca, is so hideous and horrible a mockery of justice that any sense of awe is instantly dispelled; and when the persecuted girl expresses the hope which only her desperate plight converts to conviction that 'it cannot be that in merry England--the hospiti-

able, the generous, the free, where so many are ready to peril their lives for honour, there will not be found one to fight for justice' (p.433), her words are quite at odds with the action and the atmosphere of the bulk of the novel as well as with her own experience: of all the characters, only Ivanhoe and Richard qualify for her description. The tormented Jews, Rebecca and her father, Isaac of York, display as much faith as any of the professed Christians in this so-called Christian society. Most of the clerical figures are dissolute and wanton or unlearned, even illiterate. Aymer, prior of Jorvaulx, is far closer to Chaucer's worldly monk than to Pugin's spiritual ideal. Because of the gross darkness of the background against which they are set, the touches of heroism, loyalty, honour, love and gratitude that Scott's world does contain shine all the brighter; but the impression prevails of a time of disorder, tumult and horror. The virtues of Pugin's vision, solidarity, peace and devotion, are not characteristic of Scott's view at all. Such harmony as is established at the end of the novel, with Cedric's acknowledgement of the sovereignty of Richard, his reconciliation with his son and the union of Ivanhoe and Rowena, is a concession to the demands of romance, not the commencement of a lasting stability.

Scott's material is different from Pugin's and his attitude to it differs too. He takes a secular view of life, rather than a spiritual one; there is little sense of God operating in men's hearts or in affairs of state in Ivanhoe. The one explicit reference to the Catholic church is made in terms and a tone only possible to an author writing after

the Reformation and may well imply more than it states: 'the nuptials of our hero' are 'graced with all the splendour which she of Rome knows how to apply with such brilliant effect' (p.522). When he turns to artistic matters, Scott is certainly not exclusively concerned with the beauties of Gothic and appears in any case not particularly drawn to æsthetic considerations in general. There is no question of his exalting the earlier period in order to show up the later one; on the contrary, Scott is what George Eliot would later call a meliorist. He has an antiquarian's curiosity about the past but he uses his sources to document atrocities as well as pleasant matters and he refuses to be bound by them: 'it is extremely probable that I may have confused the manners of two or three centuries' (p.20), he announces in the dedicatory epistle in a tone of cavalier insouciance rather than contrite admission; and he is equally candid in revealing that in his narrative he is 'intermingling fiction with truth' (p.16). Such a liberty Pugin could never have sanctioned. It seems plain that Scott is at least as much interested in telling a good story as in examining an earlier state of society.

The Fair maid of Perth could no more have supplied Pugin with his vision of the Middle Ages than Ivanhoe, for the later novel presents just such a picture of ubiquitous faction and deadly intrigue as the earlier one exhibited. The characters themselves are largely responsible for this view: Catharine Glover, the heroine, calls hers a 'cruel and remorseless age' (p.41); Henry Gow, the smith whom the conventions of romance bring her to marry in the last chapter, maintains that 'great lords are sooner listened to if

they say, "Burn a church," than if they say, "Build one" (p.161); Father Clement, an eccentric monk whose allegedly heretical criticisms of his brethren anticipate the Reformation which soon, as Scott approvingly puts it, 'broke out in full splendour' (p.381), knows not 'whether most to admire the bounty of God or the ingratitude of man. He hath given us the beauty and fertility of the earth, and we have made the scene of his bounty a charnel-house and a battle-field. He hath given us power over the elements, and skill to erect houses for comfort and defence, and we have converted them into dens for robbers and ruffians' (p.192); Black Douglas, a powerful earl, knows that 'this is a time when the subjects in all countries rise against the law' (p.176) and includes England in his list of examples; King Robert himself, weak because peace-loving, and much troubled by the 'internal dissensions' in his royal family which introduce 'everywhere the baneful effects of uncertainty and disunion' (p.122), observes to his confessor that 'there is in Scotland only one place where the shriek of the victim, and threats of the oppressor, are not heard--and that ... is--the grave' (p.128).⁷ The tenor of the narrator's comments coincides with these pronouncements; he can praise the courtesy and the 'decorous gravity' (p.388) of some characters and the loyalty or bravery, generosity or gratitude of others on particular scattered occasions but he firmly and openly believes that the age is 'primitive' (p.220), 'ignorant' (p.381) and 'barbarous' (p.385), characterized by a 'neglect of order' (p.240) and a 'love of fight' (p.144). To support these descriptions, Scott conducts a plot which is as wilful in contriving spurious

alarms and dangers as behaviour and events are arbitrary: a severed hand is a main property and the stump from which it has been sliced in an illicit nocturnal brawl is the subject of many would-be jests; in a world where neither in private life nor in the political sphere is any man safe for a moment, this 'romantic narrative' (p.[1]) culminates in a set piece of mortal combat which only seven of the sixty-four strong men who enter it survive. The author's disgust at the widespread carnage is as patent as his disdain for the general brutality: 'the revels had proceeded with fewer casualties than usual, embracing only three deaths, and certain fractured limbs, which, occurring to individuals of little note, were not accounted worth inquiring into' (p.221). The hamlets of the Highlanders are 'disgustful and repulsive, from their squalid want of the conveniences which attend even Indian wigwams' (p.373). In the preface Scott speaks openly of the 'rancour' of feuds and 'the degraded condition of the general government of the country' (p.[1]).

The church plays a role in these affairs that is often at variance with its profession. It is mined within by 'new doctrines' (p.186) and in external relations is at strife with the state. Scott's mistrust of the intervention of the clergy in secular matters is plain: 'theirs was, at that period, an influence from which few or none escaped, however resolute and firm of purpose in affairs of a temporal character' (p.123). It is clear too that he regards the conventual life which Catharine contemplates in order to avoid 'becoming the loose paramour of a married prince' (p.198) as a 'sacrifice' by which she would 'bury herself

in the recesses of the cloister' (p.23). The sole virtue of the monasteries which he stresses is their 'magnificent hospitality' (p.131) which is offered 'to every wanderer of whatever condition' (p.127) but even that turns out to be limited for when the nobles abuse it the monks are resentful and complain.

At two points in the story, Gothic buildings are described in some detail. The first of these is the Dominican convent; here, if Scott were interested in architecture and what it might reveal of society, one might expect evidence of his beliefs but instead the reader is offered an authorial apology for the interruption to the narrative which the attention devoted to the structure occasions: 'it is necessary to notice these localities' (p.131) for a knowledge of their disposition is a prerequisite to an understanding of the action that follows. The same motive accounts for the description of the High Church of St. John: it is important only as the setting for the superstitious and sensational ordeal by bier-right in which the displayed corpse is to discover the identity of its murderer. There is more interest in and sympathy for Gothic in the footnote cited from the antiquary Morrison when the church is mentioned earlier than is shown by Scott, who might have been prompted by his source to express his liking if he had felt any. Scott's gracing of the arches of a Gothic bridge as 'stately' (p.338) thus sounds perfunctory by comparison rather than laudatory.

In short, in this novel too, as in Ivanhoe, Scott's assessment of the fourteenth century is almost totally opposed to the view that is offered by Pugin. Be it in art

or in morals, in religion or in government, Scott believes that life is better now, in his own time, than it was then. His meliorism is evident in, for example, the attitude he makes Catharine take to the trial and the single combat which is to be its consequence: 'Catharine viewed the ordeal of battle rather as an insult to religion, than an appeal to the Deity, and did not consider it as reasonable, that superior strength of arm, or skill of weapon, should be resorted to as the proof of moral guilt or innocence' (p.287). Scott's own convictions of what is decorous, faithful, enlightened and just lie visible behind her objection.

Whether Pugin read Scott's novels cannot now be ascertained; neither his notes for an autobiography nor the surviving diaries give proof of any reading in this kind. The performances at Covent Garden must have acquainted him with the novelist's name and his estimate of the Elizabethan, if not the mediæval, period; but as early as 1831, the year of the production of 'Kenilworth,' it is possible, perhaps probable, that Pugin would not have taken particular notice of opinions on society and religion, as the tragic events which initiated the three-year course of study which led to his conversion had not then occurred; the deep seriousness is of a later date. Had he read the novels, at whatever time, he would not, however, have found confirmation of the sentiments he was to develop and express in Contrasts. Given the testimony, some of it already quoted, which Victorian authors subsequently bore to the influence Scott had on them and in general, it is legitimate to assume that the view of the Middle Ages he circulated, and even

to some extent created, was widely current and popular. It requires no assumption, however, to establish that Pugin's opinion is different.

Victor Hugo

Just one year before Scott's death there appeared in Paris a work which its aspiring author intended to be a 'more beautiful and complete' (p.14) historical novel than the laird of Abbotsford had written in his story of fifteenth-century France, Quentin Durward.⁸ Victor Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris 1482, published in 1831, and approximating to allegory in the manner of its presentation of the transition of the French nation from the Middle Ages to the modern period, is set with documentary precision in the Paris of early 1482. Dominating the city is the cathedral which gives the novel its title and which is central to both the ambitious symbolism of the work and its lurid and sensational plot. Unlike Scott's, Hugo's interest in the Gothic architecture of which Notre-Dame is one magnificent specimen is strong and, unworried by the suspension occasioned to his narrative, he pauses to expound his beliefs about it in discourses which he makes no attempt to transmute into fiction. Architecture is for him the pre-eminent art of the mediaeval period because it is the collective record of men's ideas. Hugo can read--the image is his--this writing and buildings are thus in his eyes expressive of the nature of the societies which erected them. Because Notre-Dame is a structure begun in the Romanesque manner and completed in the Gothic, he defines one style by juxtaposition with the other: in the history of the subject,

Romanesque architecture, like Hindu and Egyptian, symbolizes 'la théocratie, la caste, l'unité, le dogme, le mythe, Dieu' while Gothic architecture, like Phoenician and Greek, symbolizes 'la liberté, le peuple, l'homme' (p.216).⁹ Hugo admires this freedom and applauds the elasticity which allows the sculpture of a church to display 'un sens symbolique absolument étranger au culte, ou même hostile à l'église' (p.214). The quality of Gothic by which he seems to set most store, however, is the grotesque, which he not only dwells on when describing the cathedral but embodies in the figure of Quasimodo, who can be regarded as the most important character in the novel. The grotesque is, for Hugo, the promise of the populism of Gothic.

Notre-Dame de Paris was 'a success with the public',¹⁰ in France and it was 'the book by which Hugo became famous in England' (p.11); two translations were already published in 1833. Had he wanted to read the novel, Pugin would not have needed to wait for these, however, as he was fluent in French. Journeys with his parents had taken him to Paris before 1831 and he had played such a large part in the preparation of his father's volumes on Paris and its environs that A.C. Pugin referred to them as 'Augustus's work' [D433, p.35]; Pugin drew fifteen plates for the publication, all of them showing buildings in or near the capital and one of them an elevation of Notre-Dame; they are dated 1829 or 1830. Whether Pugin was in Paris in 1831 is not known; his notes for an autobiography, the chief source, limited and fragmentary though it is, of information for that year, break off in July and do not mention a visit before that date.

Given this coincidence of interests in the Middle Ages,

architecture and Paris, it could be expected that Pugin would have been attracted to the French novel. Later, it seems highly likely that Hugo was known to him by name and perhaps even in person since, because of his campaign against the neglect and destruction of the nation's architecture, Hugo was a member of the official Comité historique des arts et monumens from 1838 to 1848 and it was to this body that Didron, who was its secretary, read the letter that Pugin sent him in 1843 describing his current work [A31]. There is, however, no proof of an acquaintance and no evidence that Pugin read Notre-Dame de Paris.

Had he done so, he would have discovered an attitude towards Gothic almost totally at variance with his own. Hugo may read the spirit of a society from its architecture, just as Pugin was to do five years later, but there the resemblance ends. Gothic is not in Hugo's interpretation the supreme style, as the coupling of it with Phoenician and Greek in the cited passage shows, but instead only one chapter in 'le grand livre de l'humanité' (p.210); its arch points not towards heaven but towards the liberation of the human spirit from the trammels in which a restrictive religion had formerly bound it; its variety celebrates the diversity of human beings; and its acceptance of the grotesque betokens the commencement of democracy. Where unity is to be found is in the Romanesque period from which Gothic broke free. The Romanesque style belongs to an 'univers hiérarchique;' it is the 'emblème inaltérable du catholicisme pur, immuable hiéroglyphe de l'unité papale;' everywhere it speaks of 'l'autorité, l'unité, l'impénétrable, l'absolu' (p.213). Whereas unity is the central and most

desirable quality of Pugin's Gothic vision, Hugo, interpreting it differently, finds it a repressive quality, indicating more than strict adherence to a single creed, and he is accordingly pleased to see humanity rid of it. If he has a preference for Gothic it rests on grounds quite other than those which Pugin urges. His exposition of the style is political: Gothic by its advent signifies an emancipation from oppression in this world, an advance from the rigidity and conformity that preceded it, a step towards the expression and recognition of the individual being.

For the rest, the people of Hugo's Paris, living beside the great Gothic cathedral, are barbaric. They are actuated by greed and lust and anger and fear, delinquent and dissolute in irresponsibility, irreverence and riot, downtrodden in poverty, filth and ignorance. In the course of the plot, preposterous travesties of justice are succeeded by outrageous acts of torture; the public is amused, and superstition reigns supreme; only Quasimodo, repository of hope, and Esmeralda, repository of beauty, stand apart, but they are--because they are--social outcasts. The sole superhuman force governing this brutal, jostling, anarchic microcosm is the fatality that Claude Frollo makes his excuse for his diabolical treachery: Hugo recurs repeatedly to the image of the spider and the fly. Nowhere in his presentation is there so much as a glimpse of the benevolent being who rules Pugin's universe and whom Pugin's universe reveres in worship and devotion. His world is the reverse of Pugin's ideal of dedication and harmony and joy. It is not just that his conception is not overtly Catholic; it seems, by comparison with Pugin's, hardly Christian. There are, of

course, reminders of the church throughout, in the cathedral, in the numerous clerics, in the superstition, even in the blasphemous oaths; Hugo is too faithful to actuality to omit them but the emphasis is everywhere on the secular arm, the physical presence. There is no impression of a supernatural sphere beyond mortal existence, no sense of the spiritual at all.

Whatever may be said in praise of the vitality and strength of Hugo's novel, the realism of his outlook, his scepticism in religion and his egalitarianism in politics set him in full intellectual opposition to Pugin. He is an optimistic progressivist, glad that the printing-press, his symbol of modernity, has superseded Gothic architecture in inditing 'la grande écriture du genre humain' (p.212), sure of the superiority of the nineteenth century to the fifteenth. His view of the Middle Ages may be more sophisticated than Scott's but there can be no doubt that it would have been anathema to Pugin; and the fact that they have in common a few attitudes, which will be noticed later, would probably only have exacerbated the difference.

Perhaps Pugin did not read Notre-Dame de Paris, or the novels of Scott. There is evidence that in later years he relished the character of Micawber in David Copperfield, admired Vanity Fair and loathed Pendennis;¹¹ his letters to Hardman prove an acquaintance with those examples of the dominant literary form of the Victorian period. In earlier life, however, his opinion of the genre may perhaps be more reliably gauged from a scoffing dismissal in his Apology for 'Contrasts'; there he concedes that it 'may be very pretty for romance and novel-writers to deal largely in

cloisters by moonlight, and abbey bells, &c.' [A9, p.11]--the selection of details is ineluctably reminiscent of Hugo's novel as well as the lesser Gothic novels of Walpole and Ann Radcliffe--but their productions are plainly deemed frivolous. It seems that at the time when his vision was developing Pugin distrusted fiction; and in any event it is apparent that he would have found neither incitement to nor confirmation of his ideal in the treatments of the Middle Ages that were available in the more popular historical novels of the time. There is, moreover, nothing in these current literary versions of the mediæval period that would prepare the readers of Contrasts to receive Pugin's 'strange and novel book.' Evidently he writes about the Middle Ages as well as about architecture and religious history in a way that is new for the average reader of 1836.

The suggestions of other scholars

In considering the question of Pugin's originality, scholars have identified some authors who anticipate Pugin's enunciation of individual ideas which go to the composition of his vision. John Unrau, for example, finds two earlier nineteenth-century writers who attack architectural shams, John Carter in the Gentleman's magazine in 1802 and Thomas Kerrich in 1809 [D789]; and Patrick Conner also points out that Kerrich preceded Pugin in denouncing deception in architecture [D806]. French thinking about the subject decreed that 'the features and forms of a building should arise from an expression of its use and construction' (D830, p.[203]) decades before Pugin's True principles was published, as R.D. Middleton states. This rational notion became common-

place enough for Hugo to be able to introduce it quite casually in Notre-Dame de Paris: 'il est de règle que l'architecture d'un édifice soit adaptée à sa destination de telle façon que cette destination se dénonce d'elle-même au seul aspect de l'édifice.'¹² There are additional points of similarity between Hugo and Pugin. In the same passage Hugo mocks the erection of an imitation of an ancient temple for the purpose of housing a stock exchange; it could be anything, he maintains, from a royal palace to a barrack. Earlier in the novel he complains that fashions have done more harm to the nation's architectural monuments than have revolutions: they have 'tranché dans le vif, elles ont attaqué la charpente osseuse de l'art, elles ont coupé, taillé, désorganisé, tué l'édifice.... Elles ont effrontément ajusté, de par le bon goût,... leurs misérables colifichets d'un jour, leurs rubans de marbre, leurs pompons de métal, véritable lèpre d'oves, de volutes, d'entournements, de draperies, de guirlandes, de franges, de flammes de pierre, de nuages de bronze, d'amours replets, de chérubins bouffis...' (p.129). Hugo's catalogue and his disgust both sound very like Pugin; and it can be observed that Hugo writes about the building--it is Notre-Dame in particular that he has in mind--as if it were a living creature.

Other scholars have suggested further precursors. Nikolaus Pevsner takes a wide sweep when he mentions the names of F.R. Chateaubriand and C.W.F. von Schlegel as possible forerunners of Pugin; both were, he writes, 'Catholic and both saw art and architecture in the context of medieval religion' [D776, p.108]. A.B. Crowder approaches by a different avenue again when he argues that the practice

of comparing buildings of the Middle Ages with later structures was widespread in books of illustrations published before 1836 [D848]; some of the examples he adduces, however, merely contrast ancient glory with present decay and others betoken no more than an interest in the remote and picturesque past, both features of Romanticism in general rather than distinctive characteristics of Contrasts.

It is notable that all these studies treat Pugin as an architectural writer and all but one of them look to writers on architecture, most of them Continental, to discover his precursors; the exception is Pevsner but he spares only three short sentences for his insight before dismissing it. Both he and Crowder are seeking to correct, to amplify and to refine, points in an article by Stanton. To judge from its title, her investigation of 'The sources of Pugin's Contrasts' promises to deal fully and directly with the question of Pugin's originality.

William Cobbett

In one work which she mentions Pugin may, indeed, have found more to direct his thinking than Stanton recognizes. William Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation, published in instalments from late in 1824 until the spring of 1826 with a second part issued in 1827, ran immediately into several editions and must therefore have been widely known. Stanton claims that in his account of the Reformation Pugin is closer to Cobbett in 'actual wording and sequences of ideas' [D737, p.135] than to standard Protestant historians whom both of them quote, although she adduces

only one, not entirely convincing example of this proximity. Beyond that, she gives no more than the briefest indication of the purpose of Cobbett's undertaking.

The History of the Protestant Reformation is an indignant book. Cobbett defines his motive as a determination to see justice at last done to the Catholics against whom Protestant calumnies have so long been allowed to prevail. To this end he conducts his narrative through the changes which the nation's religion underwent in the sixteenth century and, to prove his contention that the Reformation was an event disastrous not only in itself but also in its consequences, deems it necessary to carry his account, still with exemplary simplicity and lucidity as well as characteristic vigour, through the Puritan and then the American and French revolutions down to his own day. In the course of doing so, he finds frequent occasion to compare Catholic times with Protestant ones and the comparison is almost without exception a contrast favourable to the mediæval period. Cobbett argues that the ancient dispensation was superior to the arrangements ushered in by the Reformation in its provision for religion, education, justice and freedom and above all in its treatment of the poor, all whose wants were supplied by the monasteries which Henry VIII and his successors destroyed. In Cobbett's eyes the Reformation 'brought a compulsory, a grudging, an unnatural mode of relief, calculated to make the poor and rich hate each other, instead of binding them together, as the Catholic mode did, by the bonds of Christian charity.'¹³

There is much in Cobbett's history that resembles Pugin's outlook; Stanton might have found more and closer

parallels than she educes. The similarities descend to details: Cobbett can, for instance, hardly find words bad enough to describe 'Old Harry' (passim) and his daughter Elizabeth, who is a 'tigress' (p.201), and he considers it a benefit to society to have a celibate clergy. On the other hand, there are fundamental points of divergence. Cobbett may exalt the monastic communities to a degree that the dimmest recollection of Chaucer's monk and prioress makes look idealized but this attitude does not extend to encompass all aspects of the Middle Ages: he remembers that the king and the nobles could be tyrannical and that wars were fought. He may find unity in the old society but he does not consistently deny its existence in the new; what has changed is rather the means of securing it, which rely now on fear instead of generosity. Indeed when he comes at the end of his book to state his evidence for the greater prosperity of England before the Reformation than after it, that evidence often seems eccentric, rickety and bathetic. More tellingly and pervasively, Cobbett is not concerned with the question of faith; more than once he dismisses a 'mere' (p.106 and p.126) matter of religion in order to reach what really engages him. There can be no doubt that he wants justice done to Catholics but once modern England's debt to its Catholic ancestors has been acknowledged his task will be done; he has no wish to turn all England Catholic; he is not a Catholic himself and can happily speak of 'our own dear Protestant days' (p.154). In that light his history is a remarkable feat of detachment but it is not an exercise in proselytism. Nor is Cobbett interested in architecture: there is no reason to denigrate as perfunctory or insincere

his references to the 'majestic and venerable edifices' (p.24) and the 'noble buildings' (p.106) erected when England was Catholic but references is all they are, nonetheless, and brief ones at that, as he passes at once to other aspects of them than the beauty and fitness and symbolism which Pugin dwells on. He deals with parish churches, for instance, in order to prove that 'England was more populous in Catholic times than it is now' (p.299); the number of them and the solidity of their construction help him to demonstrate that England enjoyed greater prosperity in the fourteenth century than it does in the nineteenth. Cobbett's concerns, in fine, are neither spiritual nor æsthetic; rather, they are political and economic. The greatest evil introduced by the Reformation is not 'Paganism' but pauperism; Cobbett does not appear to care at all about pointed arches but he does care, passionately, about poor-rates. The great crime of the reformers is to have robbed the people of their refuge and relief in time of need and distress; Cobbett gives the impression that it is the people, rather than the church, who have lost by the alteration of religion, for they are now the victims of a system of taxation and national debt which was unheard-of in the Middle Ages but which he can trace from the sixteenth century. The mediæval period was a time of plenty; the Reformation was an act of plunder; the result was for the people a state of poverty. Cobbett's yard-stick is the material one of 'quantity of food and raiment' (p.297) for the common man: that is not like Pugin's standard at all.

Except in one plate. After mentioning the History of the Protestant Reformation Stanton goes on to take a quick

look at Cobbett's better known Rural rides, published in 1830. She quotes his reference to a priory which formerly existed in Reigate, a town he visited in October 1825, at the end of which month he wrote the twelfth letter of the sixteen which compose his history; apropos of the priory he remarks that, 'of late, I have made some hundreds of thousands of very good Protestants begin to suspect, that monasteries were better than poor-rates, and that monks and nuns, who fed the poor, were better than sinecure and pension men and women, who feed upon the poor.'¹⁴ Stanton considers that Cobbett's comment on the priory 'could well have been the inspiration for the plate illustrating medieval and modern residences for the poor which Pugin prepared for the 1841 edition of Contrasts' [D737, p.136]; but surely Cobbett's allusion is to his history, for the main point of that, as has been seen, was the superiority of monasteries to poor-rates; and if Pugin knew the history he would have had no need of this hint in the Rural rides.

In a second case Stanton makes a stronger statement when she asserts that in an account of the town of Leicester in the Rural rides and especially of its prison 'Cobbett supplied Pugin's inspiration' (p.136). Certainly in the extract which she quotes Cobbett contrasts the prominent and, in his eyes, disgraceful modern prison with the mediæval institutions whose dispensation of charity rendered prisons unnecessary; but the building he describes does not look at all like the one Pugin draws. The prison which looms large in Pugin's picture of the town of 1840 is, like his modern poor-house, a version of the Benthamite panopticon; and for knowledge of that it can be safely assumed

that Pugin would not have needed to be acquainted with the writings of Cobbett.

Another scholar, Paul Thompson, in his study of the Victorian architect William Butterfield, has suggested that the hospital of Saint Cross, later the subject of a scandal made even more widely known by Anthony Trollope's novel The warden, was the original of the 'antient poor house' of the plate Pugin added to the edition of 1841 [D759]. This is a charitable foundation that Cobbett describes at some length in a passage of his history which sharply contrasts the nepotic conduct of the last bishop of Winchester--Saint Cross is near that city--with that of William of Wykeham, who established a college in Oxford, a school at Winchester and 'did numerous other most munificent things' (p.69). The hospital eventually possessed until the Reformation an endowment capable of providing 'a residence and suitable maintenance for forty-eight decayed gentlemen, with priests, nurses, and other servants and attendants; and, besides this, it made provision for a dinner every day for a hundred of the most indigent men in the city. These met daily in a hall, called "the hundred men's hall." Each had a loaf of bread, three quarts of small beer and "two messes," for his dinner' (p.69). Cobbett sets this vision of charity and bounty in immediate juxtaposition with the present run-down condition of the institution: 'What is seen at the hospital of Holy Cross now? Alas! TEN poor creatures creeping about in this noble building, and THREE out-pensioners; and to those an attorney from Winchester carries, or sends, weekly, the few pence, whatever they may be, that are allowed them!' (p.70). Elsewhere in his history Cobbett repeatedly contrasts

the diet of the mediæval labourer who ordinarily drank no water and had an abundance of various red meats with that of the poor man of his own time who is forced to subsist on what is scathingly described as 'nice potatoes and pure water' (p.312).

Winchester, 'that grand scene of ancient learning, piety and munificence' (p.266), is described again in the Rural rides, in an instalment written on 30 October 1825, eight months after the account of Saint Cross in Cobbett's history. Here too the contrast is drawn, apropos this time of the cathedral, between the condition of the agrarian classes in the mediæval period and their present misery: 'That building,' Cobbett says he told his son, 'was made when there were no poor wretches in England, called paupers; when there were no poor-rates; when every labouring man was clothed in good woollen cloth; and when all had a plenty of meat and bread and beer' (p.254). This is only one of a number of passages in the Rural rides where the sights which he passes provoke Cobbett to reflections on the wretchedness of the agricultural districts in his day and the health and wealth he is convinced they enjoyed in the past: Salisbury cathedral, the New Forest and other places inspire the same contrast. The thought is not engendered by buildings alone nor, when they are the occasion of it, by their style but only their number and sturdiness. Cobbett's desire is to see the farmer and the field-worker flourishing again: his interest is in timber and turnips and hops and haystacks, in prices of corn and yields of wool, and his purpose is to demonstrate that the modern financial system and the governments that have introduced it bear the guilt of impoverishing

and degrading the nation. His attitudes and his reasoning, in short, are the same in the Rural rides as they were in his History of the Protestant Reformation; and in neither case do they, except in incidental illustrations, resemble Pugin's.

That Pugin read Cobbett at some date is proved by his allusion to him in the Earnest address (already quoted on p.104 of this study), where the immediate association is with wholesome, plentiful and cheap food, and piety is recollected only later; but that pamphlet was issued in 1851, whereas the specific debts that Stanton postulates and the alternative one proposed here, to the description of Saint Cross in the History of the Protestant Reformation, perhaps corroborated by the discussion of Winchester in the Rural rides, all relate to plates drawn for publication in 1841. If the impact of Cobbett's works was strong enough to create these debts--and it is not claimed that this has been proved--it is legitimate to conclude that Pugin encountered the works, the history or the Rural rides or both, only after Contrasts was first published; otherwise, it seems clear, the plates which they may have prompted would have formed part of the edition of 1836. What makes this deduction more likely is an emphasis in the history which was not noticed earlier. Cobbett there goes out of his way to stress that the monarchs and politicians and bishops who began the Reformation were all Catholics (see pp.119-20); this is a point that Pugin does not make until he revises his argument for the second edition [A3.2, p.iv]. The case for Pugin reading Cobbett after 1836 rather than before seems therefore strong and in that event there can be no presump-

tion that Cobbett contributed to the formation of the vision that was already expressed in the first edition of Contrasts.

Kenelm Digby

Kenelm Henry Digby's The broad stone of honour is another source which Stanton proposes for Pugin's Contrasts. It is a book with a complicated textual history, having undergone two revisions before it reached its final extensive form in the four volumes of 1826 and 1827. Nothing else about the work, however, is complex. As it meanders its leisurely, self-indulgent way through more than two thousand pages of examples and anecdotes drawn from almost any source within western civilization and frequently left to shift for themselves without gloss from the author to explain the reason for their inclusion, it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that Pugin would have had the patience to attend to such a rambling and credulous assemblage of trivia. He might have overlooked the absence of a sense of humour in the work but its lack of discrimination he is less likely to have tolerated: there can be few books ever written with so little sense of point and proportion. Certainly what the modern reader marvels at is the solemnity with which Digby stitched and then in later editions cobbled together so many disparate and episodic passages mingling fact and fiction, ancient and modern, Christian and pagan, and expected the bemused reader to impose coherence and deduce an argument.

Digby's stated purpose is to write 'a philosophic history of chivalry' (1:1),¹⁵ to compile 'books of ensamples and doctrines, forming, as it were, a moral history of the heroic age of Christendom' (1:6), and he has much to say in

praise of the mediæval period--the purity, singleness and ubiquity of its faith, its learning, its hospitality--but the instances which he culls from his vast reading to demonstrate the piety or the generosity of the Middle Ages are set against a background of lapses, excesses and abuses of many kinds. What Digby applauds is a virtue, wherever it appears; and just as he takes his illustrations from Homer and Virgil as readily as from later authors, so the virtues he esteems, like honour and courage, for example, are as often classical as Christian. In architecture he seems to have little interest: he can express a liking for Gothic but he admires the buildings of the Vatican and the Alhambra equally if not more. This willingness to admit testimony from all quarters, from heathen antiquity, from myth and legend and fable, gives Digby's work a chronological scale and a scope of material far beyond the Christian and mediæval confines of Contrasts. Digby's catholicity sets him apart, then, from Pugin; but his devout Catholicism links him and so does his aristocratic distaste for the rationalistic and sceptical tendencies of his own time: he finds the elevation of private judgment over external, institutionalized authority, for instance, as inimical as Pugin does, although he indicates his repugnance with more restraint than Pugin bothered to practise. There are slighter points of agreement too, such as a predilection for plain chant. Because of their broad coincidence of outlook, Digby and Pugin share the principle of contrast also, defining the past and the present as opposites; but Digby does not use the principle as a formal strategy to give shape to his sprawling essay. Nor does he treat the modern world

with trenchant satire like Pugin's; and above all he does not propound a concrete and historical social ideal as Pugin does.

There is no evidence to show that Pugin read Digby's book; the earliest known meeting of the two men took place, as Stanton notes, in 1837 when Pugin's diary records that he 'Dined at Mr. Digby [sic]' on 16 May.¹⁶ There is therefore no factual proof that he read The broad stone of honour before he published Contrasts in 1836; nor is there certainty that he had before that year read another work of Digby's to which Stanton refers (p.137 and p.138), his Mores catholici, the third of the eleven volumes of which she states to contain a discussion of mediæval architecture.¹⁷ The question of any debt Pugin may have owed to Digby must remain unsettled.

Robert Southey

Robert Southey's Sir Thomas More: or, colloquies on the progress and prospects of society, issued in two volumes in 1829, is another of the publications Stanton refers to in her essay, although except in one particular it is not clear whether she intends it to be regarded as an influence on Pugin or merely as a contribution to the 'pattern of English thought, already well established by 1836,' of which in her opinion Contrasts 'deserves to be understood as part' [D737, p.130]. The one detail where she posits a close relation between Pugin's book and Southey's concerns Southey's attitude to the effect of increasing democracy on the arts; she suggests that Pugin's plate dedicated to the contemporary architectural profession 'might well have been an illustration' of Southey's claim that this tendency will be '"fatal to

excellence and favorable [sic] to mediocrity"' (p.134). If this were what Southey writes and all he writes there might be a basis for Stanton's perception but her quotation is wrong. What Southey in fact writes is that 'a levelling principle is going on [in fine arts and literature in his time], fatal perhaps to excellence, but favourable to mediocrity' (2:422); and what he moreover goes on to write is that this change has brought 'a great increase of individual and domestic enjoyment' and 'a progressive refinement, which must be beneficial in many ways' (2:423).¹⁸ This is not the place to distinguish between assertion and proof in Southey's text; what is important is that this is certainly not a view which is 'close to those of Pugin' (p.134), as Stanton alleges; and in fact Southey has very little to say about the arts, except for literature.

Another quotation from Southey is similarly misleading because it is incomplete; had Stanton continued the passage about the great abbeys of mediæval times to its conclusion instead of cutting it short (after misquoting it so that the last sentence of the extract becomes nonsense), it would have demonstrated not that those institutions succoured the poor as she leaves it to imply but that the notion that they did so is 'one of those hasty inferences which have no other foundation than a mere coincidence of time in the supposed cause and effect' (1:84). Pugin could not derive from this remark endorsement of the attitude that was eventually to find expression in his plate of contrasted residences for the poor.

Some of Stanton's generalities are open to equal exception. Her observation that Southey was 'intemperate' (p.134)

on the subject of the Reformation, which she justifies by a brief quotation maintaining that that event in English religious life lessened the spirituality of the people and prepared the way for worldliness, needs to be qualified by two considerations. One is a reminder of the form in which Southey cast his book: the structure is dialectical, as she notes, and the work is therefore not fairly represented by extracts drawn from one side of the debate only. Many of the sentences put into the mouth of Sir Thomas More, one party to the Boëthian dialogue, could be made to look like condemnation of the Reformation if taken alone as Stanton takes the one she quotes but in their context--and this is what she fails to point out--they are almost always challenged and countered by the other collocutor, Montesinos, whose outlook is schematically opposite. In addition Southey the author is not necessarily to be identified with either of his fictitious characters, and his assessment of the Reformation must be gathered from the work as a whole, not from a tiny, partial fragment. Nothing that More is given to say cancels the impression that Southey rejoices at the outcome of that ecclesiastical upheaval. He has Montesinos state that 'The result of our Reformation is of such transcendant good, that it has been well purchased. We have gained by it a scriptural religion; a system of belief which bears inquiry; and an ecclesiastical establishment, which is not merely in all respects consistent with the general good, but eminently and essentially conducive to it' (1:247). Again, Montesinos urges that 'the world has never yet seen any other establishment in itself so good, and so beneficial in its results' (1:284). Even while he can admit to some lapses from the

highest clerical standards in his own time, Southey's glad loyalty to the established church is as unwavering as his hostility towards the Catholicism which it displaced. Over and over again the Colloquies allege the superstition, idolatry, fanaticism, tyranny, falsehood, intolerance and other evils of Roman Catholicism; the abbots, for instance, of the great abbeys described in the passage which Stanton cites are stated, and by More, not Montesinos who is made to be disingenuously callow upon occasion, to have been 'rapacious' and 'criminal' (1:86). There is nothing here in which Pugin could concur. In small matters as in large he diverges from Southey: Queen Elizabeth, Pugin's 'female demon' [A3.1, p.44], is by Southey's account a pattern among sovereigns and hers a 'glorious age' (1:263).

This difference between the Poet laureate's estimate of the Reformation and Pugin's points to further distinctions. Southey may, as Stanton says, praise monastic institutions but it is only some of them or, rather, some aspects of them that he finds admirable and he has strictures to make on them besides; and the totality of his Colloquies does not recommend a return to the ways of the past. As a perfectibilitarian, Southey has no desire to put the clock back. When he looks forward, however, he sees a cause for apprehension in the threat of political turmoil. His fear of convulsion is the reason for his choice of More as interlocutor since he sees More as living at a time comparable with his own as he perceives it, namely a critical one on the brink of revolution, and it is this fear which leads Southey to examine England's history in search of means of strengthening the present national order. In this process he sometimes

exploits the convenience of juxtaposing former practice against what is current but the organizing principle of his book remains the formal one of dialogue rather than a conceptual one of intellectual polarity: More and Montesinos often agree. They cannot be regarded as spokesmen for the past and the present respectively, set in rigid contrast; and the direction of their discussion is moreover that declared by the full title of Southey's work. What the Colloquies contemplate is the progress and prospects of society: Southey's concern is for the future. His book is a musing and often inconclusive reflection of his thoughts on the present state of affairs and where they may tend, paying more attention to the national debt and colonization, to the Lake district and the lack of copyright laws, than to the questions which agitate Pugin. Architecture is not a subject that interests him; his references to the Middle Ages are closely tied to history, acknowledging the existence then of many evils like ignorance, disease and war; he sees the passage of time as bringing improvement in man's lot; and what he is most anxious to secure in his own generation and for the generations to come is the social order; above all, he is a happy Anglican. He paints no picture of mediæval society that coincides with Pugin's; the author of Contrasts could have learnt very little and probably nothing directly from the Colloquies which would help to create his Gothic and Catholic ideal.

It would be tedious to examine closely all the texts that Stanton adduces as sources of Contrasts. Pugin's footnotes prove that he drew on standard histories to support his account of the depredations of the Reformation; and he

may well have borrowed from George Cruikshank, as Stanton believes, for instance, the technique of making inscriptions on buildings serve a satirical purpose, although the notion of balance which informs his end-plate of Veritas must have been so widespread that to seek precise models seems vain and unnecessary. With one debt which Stanton proposes (p.132) there is, however, genuine need to quarrel: it requires very little acquaintance with the intellectual history of the nineteenth century to be convinced that Pugin can have owed nothing to J.S. Mill, unless it were by way of contrary reaction. Mill is representative of a totally different cast of mind; certainly he comments on his own time but if the mere fact of writing social criticism warrants his inclusion among 'sources' of Contrasts there are many other authors whom Stanton should also discuss but who are omitted from her essay; and when she deals with one like Carlyle who is pertinent (pp.132-33) the relation is much deeper and more extensive than she perceives: it is not for an attack on the Royal Academy of Arts that Carlyle is best remembered.

The title of Stanton's article turns out to be misleading. 'The' sources of Contrasts implies a greater claim than the essay can sustain: 'some' would have been a better word. More importantly, 'sources' is open to objection: 'analogues,' 'parallels,' even 'similarities'--always barring Mill--might have been more accurate; and a restriction to 'aspects of' or 'elements of' Contrasts rather than an ambitious pretension to the whole work would likewise have been not only more modest but more precise. For Stanton does not, perhaps cannot, prove, with irrefutable independent external evidence

or by unambiguous undeniable internal consistency, that any one of the nineteenth-century writers she cites provided a source for Pugin's thought; and were she able to do so, the uncertainty surrounding the nature of influence in the creative process could well rob of critical significance any fact which she established. This is a theoretic difficulty she does not allude to, however; instead, blurring the hard edges of chronology as well, she falls back on assertion and assumption: 'From Cruikshank Pugin surely learned...'

(p.123); 'Pugin must have read Carlyle' (p.133). In the case of those authors whom she names who are literary figures, what they have in common with Pugin is either a sympathy, long-standing or occasional, with all or part of the Catholic church or an antipathy to the utilitarian--Stanton does not use the word--trend of their own age; but Catholicism and anti-utilitarianism are both too large, too general, to be of help in pinpointing a source for Pugin's particular vision. Stanton detects hints for individual ingredients of Contrasts, some of them apparently incontrovertible, but a single comprehensive precedent for the ideal which that work sets forth is still to be discovered.

If it were true, moreover, as she contends, that 'Few of ... [the] observations and propositions [of Contrasts] were new' (p.121) or, to put it another way, if its antecedents were obvious, its attitudes familiar, there can be little doubt that the book would not have stirred up astonished outrage when it was first published; yet the reviewers' reception of Contrasts attests considerable originality. However sound Stanton's article may be in other respects, her account of the intellectual background against

which the text of Contrasts was composed is unsatisfactory. The twentieth-century reader can readily concur in her opinion that 'Contrasts deserves to be understood as part of a pattern of English thought' but if hindsight can discern that that pattern was 'already well established by 1836' (p.130), as she alleges, Pugin's contemporaries were not in a position to do so: even if, as other scholars too have urged, some of Pugin's ideas had been anticipated, in its own time the impact of Contrasts proves that it was a book more 'strange and novel' [D30, p.23] than Stanton allows.

One direction in which two of the 'sources' she examines point is one which Stanton chooses not to explore. Both Cobbett (p.55 and pp.66-70) and Digby (1:90 and 3:62) express admiration for the writings of John Milner of Winchester but Stanton dismisses his Letters to a prebendary, first published in 1800, in a curt, unilluminating sentence (p.139), despite the fact that this is one of the very few books which Pugin is known to have read before his conversion to Catholicism [see B18].¹⁹ Since he praises it highly in a letter to Willson, it could be supposed that it might have influenced his thinking. Catholic apologetics, the category to which it belongs, constitute a subject which Stanton hardly touches yet speculation that they may have contributed in some measure to Pugin's vision may not be idle. He states in his Reply to 'Fraser' that he studied for more than three years before he made the decision to join the Catholic church and interdenominational polemic undoubtedly formed part of his reading since, besides examining 'ancient ecclesiastical architecture' [A10, p.4], 'liturgical knowledge' and 'the faithful pages of the old chronicles' (p.5), he indicates

that he was finally led to the change by 'the irresistible force of truth' (p.6) residing in the Catholic faith and discipline; and he goes on in the same passage to allude to the refutations of Protestant cases issued by Bishop Richard Challoner and by Wiseman. When the aim is to exalt the Catholic religion, it is an obvious rhetorical strategy not only to defame the Church of England which displaced it but also to glorify what the Reformation spoiled; magnifying the virtues of the Middle Ages into perfections thus becomes an effective technique for discrediting the movement which destroyed them. This is the tactic Cobbett adopts when he stresses the great social benefits afforded by the monastic institutions.

The hypothesis that Catholic apologetics perhaps supplied Pugin with ideas that went to the making of his vision will not be tested here. As has already been made clear, the task of investigating Pugin's possible sources is too large to be more than glanced at in this place. Until it is satisfactorily carried out, however, nothing more than conjecture is safe; and, that being so, the next chapter will return to the purpose of considering where Pugin's book belongs in the history of nineteenth-century literature.

CHAPTER 6Pugin as mediaevalistThe concept of mediaevalism

Since Pugin's picture of the Middle Ages is different from that offered by the general run of architectural and literary writings, at least in England, before 1836, it is pertinent to consider whether his version differs also from representations of the period in works written after the publication of Contrasts. Is Pugin's a vision peculiar to himself or is it in any way shared by succeeding authors? Should Contrasts be regarded as unique or has it similarities with any later writings?

Within the quantity of comment on society expressed in the literature of the Victorian period one particular strand can be distinguished. Criticism of contemporary life is frequently articulated by reference to an alternative set of standards by which the modern world may be judged. This alternative may take the form of a concept like the culture which Matthew Arnold offers to counteract the anarchy he sees reigning in most departments of life or it may be embodied in a more concrete way as it is by Tennyson when he makes implicit comment on modern conditions by exploring the cycle of Arthurian legend in his Idylls of the king. Some writers locate the alternative in history and when the period they choose is the Middle Ages they are on the way to composing the mediaevalist tradition.

That tradition, manifest notably in the work of Carlyle and Ruskin and, with some qualifications, Morris but also, though less conspicuously, in the writing of others, becomes

a distinct vein in Victorian literature; and compounded with the parallel returns to the same epoch in other arts, that is, with the Gothic revival in architecture and the pre-Raphaelite movement in painting, and accompanied too by the re-introduction into ecclesiastical life of forms that antedate the Reformation, it becomes a distinct and distinguishing aspect of Victorian life.

The aspect was considered distinct enough in its own time for existing words to be felt inadequate to denote it. It has been pointed out by Raymond Williams that 'mediaeval' [D693, Penguin ed. (1962), p.16] is a new word coined just before the Victorian period began and in due course 'mediaevalist'¹ and 'mediaevalism' were also formed in response to the perception that a new concept had come into being. The Oxford dictionary defines mediaevalism as the 'adoption of or devotion to mediaeval ideals or usages.' Both of these are elements in the phenomenon but if Victorian literary mediaevalism is to be fully and accurately apprehended, the definition has to be extended and refined. Other elements must be added; and they are more important ones than those already given. Authors and artists had been interested in the Middle Ages and studied them before the Victorian period, as Walpole was interested in architecture or John Keats in poetry and legend, but that does not make their works mediaevalist in the sense which the word comes to carry in succeeding decades. Nor is the distinction a matter of knowledge; scholars like Rickman, Hope and Willis are learned whereas Batty Langley is not but their books cannot be classed as mediaevalist texts all the same. Victorian mediaevalism is different; it is felt to require

a new name.

Mediaevalism in literature is not simply a question of subject-matter; a writer may choose a subject from the Middle Ages without going on to write a mediaevalist work. Scott's Ivanhoe and the Fair maid of Perth cannot strictly be classed as mediaevalist works any more than later pieces like, for instance, Robert Browning's poem 'The flight of the duchess.' On the other hand, a novel like Disraeli's Sybil of 1845 can rightly be regarded, not as a mediaevalist work in toto, but as having mediaevalist elements in it, even though its subject-matter is entirely contemporary. Trafford's mill, for example, is in some respects as Victorian as the industrial revolution of which it is a fictional part but it constitutes a mediaevalist ingredient in the novel, nonetheless. Literary mediaevalism is rather a question of attitude than a question of substance; what characterizes it is not so much the intrinsic material as the author's treatment of it. Its measure is the distance between Strawberry Hill and Pugin's contemptuous comment on it. Mediaevalism becomes a question of values.

One full-length study of literary mediaevalism published in recent years is Alice Chandler's A dream of order [D749]. The title Chandler chose points to the quality which in her view identifies and typifies mediaevalism; she comes to the conclusion that the value on which it principally relies is order. Order is to be understood in two senses: it is both a state of stability, a condition of tranquillity and peace, and a political arrangement of the hierarchical sort, a state of society in which everyone has and keeps his superior or subordinate station.

While there is no doubt that order is a dominant feature of mediaevalism, it could be argued that it does not have the solitary pre-eminence which Chandler claims for it. There is another quality that seems equally characteristic and which should perhaps be regarded as its hall-mark. Carlyle's Past and present, one of the great Victorian mediaevalist texts, published in 1843, can provide an illustration.

The present of the title explains itself; the 'past' is Carlyle's portrait of the monastery of St. Edmund at Bury in the twelfth century, the material for it being drawn from a contemporary account written by a monk Jocelin of Brakelond of which a modernized edition had recently been published. To make his meaning plain and to drive his lessons home, Carlyle frequently employs anecdote and one of the stories he uses to represent the modern state of affairs runs thus:

One of Dr. Alison's Scotch facts struck us much. A poor Irish Widow, her husband having died in one of the Lanes of Edinburgh, went forth with her three children, bare of all resource, to solicit help from the Charitable Establishments of that City. At this Charitable Establishment and then at that she was refused; referred from one to the other, helped by none;--till she had exhausted them all; till her strength and heart failed her: she sank down in typhus-fever; died, and infected her Lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence. The humane Physician asks thereupon, as with a heart too full for speaking, Would it not have been economy to help this poor Widow? She took typhus-fever, and killed seventeen of you!--Very curious. The forlorn Irish Widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying, "Behold I am sinking, bare of help: ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone; one God made us: ye must help me!" They answer, "No, impossible; thou art no sister of ours." But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus-fever kills them: they actually were her brothers, though denying it! Had human creature ever to

go lower for a proof?

For, as indeed was very natural in such case, all government of the Poor by the Rich has long ago been given over to Supply-and-demand, Laissez-faire and such-like, and universally declared to be 'impossible.' "You are no sister of ours; what shadow of proof is there? Here are our parchments, our padlocks, proving indisputably our money-safes to be ours, and you to have no business with them. Depart! It is impossible!"--Nay, what wouldst thou thyself have us do? cry indignant readers. Nothing, my friends,--till you have got a soul for yourselves again. Till then all things are 'impossible.' Till then I cannot even bid you buy, as the old Spartans would have done, twopence worth of powder and lead, and compendiously shoot to death this poor Irish Widow: even that is 'impossible' for you. Nothing is left but that she prove her sisterhood by dying, and infecting you with typhus. Seventeen of you lying dead will not deny such proof that she was flesh of your flesh; and perhaps some of the living may lay it to heart.²

This already grim story, based on fact, is thrown into starker relief by the context in which Carlyle places it. His book might well have been called 'Past or present,' since it is constructed on the principle of contrast. Because that principle applies even in details, what is bad in one sphere illuminates and sharpens the perception of what is good in the other. The mediæval society which Carlyle depicts is characterized by qualities the reverse of those obtaining in the Victorian world. In another of his exempla, taken this time from a novel by Scott, Gurth is bound to his master, Cedric, and so does receive the parings of the pork derived from the pigs he tends in the woods all day. The society is indeed stratified; Chandler is right to see it as orderly, in that sense; but more than that, the different classes in it are linked, and linked in a particular way. In a society that was hierarchically organized and nothing more, Gurth would be swineherd and Cedric his lord

but there need be no further connection between them. Yet in Carlyle's presentation there is: there is a sense of responsibility and obligation answering the position of power and privilege and there is trust that the faithful discharge of duty will receive its reward. A condition of mutuality and interdependence exists and forms a relationship acknowledged on both hands and therefore alive. In the case of the Irish widow, nothing of this kind applies: she is completely cut off, cast out and alone. 'Isolation,' comments Carlyle, 'is the sum-total of wretchedness to man.'³

Unity is also to be found in the monastery which forms a larger part of Carlyle's mediaeval subject-matter than the little-developed episode of Gurth and Cedric. There had not been much order under the rule of the predecessors of Samson, the abbot with whom Carlyle is concerned; and one of Samson's great virtues, in Carlyle's eyes, is his restoration of order, in both the senses Chandler distinguishes. Samson is one of Carlyle's heroes: he repairs finances as well as thatched roofs, dispenses justice as well as blessings, wins respect for himself from his monks and for his monastery from the lay population. In governing well, he is indeed making order; but he also does more: he creates unity. Within the walls, which simply by their physical configuration suggest a community, he restores amity among the brethren and outside them he re-establishes social ties that had been broken. It is not only in the temporal sphere that his power is felt, however; Samson returns the monastery to a due sense of its relation to God. Faith joins brother to brother and all to their maker. The unselfconsciousness of their worship is further evidence of unity, in this case the integrity of each

member, for the mind is not divided by introspection, one half contemplating the other:

The great antique heart: how like a child's in its simplicity, like a man's in its earnest solemnity and depth! Heaven lies over him where-soever he goes or stands on the Earth; making all the Earth a mystic Temple to him, the Earth's business all a kind of worship. Glimpses of bright creatures flash in the common sunlight; angels yet hover doing God's messages among men: that rainbow was set in the clouds by the hand of God! Wonder, miracle encompass the man; he lives in an element of miracle; Heaven's splendour over his head, Hell's darkness under his feet. A great Law of Duty, high as these two Infinitudes, dwarfing all else, annihilating all else,--making royal Richard as small as peasant Samson, smaller if need be!--The 'imaginative faculties?' 'Rude poetic ages?' The 'primeval poetic element?' Oh, for God's sake, good reader, talk no more of all that! It was not a Dilettantism this of Abbot Samson. It was a Reality, and it is one. The garment only of it is dead; the essence of it lives through all Time and all Eternity!--⁴

Whether the antique heart was in fact great in this way may be doubted. Carlyle's account of St. Edmund's is based on a historical document but it is not without question that he is at all points faithful and subservient to it. Grace Calder discusses his use of his source in her study The making of 'Past and present'⁵ and comes to the conclusion that Carlyle presented Jocelin's material without suppression or addition of any distorting kind; he merely, in her view, appended his own interpretation of what he found, leaving that 'found' unaltered. She uses an image to clarify her argument: the picture remains Jocelin's, what Carlyle adds is a frame. Comparison of the two texts can, however, suggest a different conclusion since Carlyle ignored some aspects of Jocelin's narrative and expanded others; and certainly he wove his own commentary into the very fabric of the ancient story. Calder's image will not

hold, for in this case the frame invades the picture or, rather, the part of it which masquerades as the whole, and overwhelms it. Carlyle finds significance where Jocelin sees no more than the simple event; Jocelin reports actuality, while Carlyle discovers meaning; Jocelin is writing history, Carlyle is writing literature, of the mediaevalist kind.

He has found, as with the great antique heart, an ideal; an ideal of order, certainly, but an ideal of unity too. It is the fact of 'sisterhood' above all that the case of the Irish widow is intended to prove; the paternal solicitude of Cedric makes the same point:

Gurth, born thrall of Cedric, it is like, got cuffs as often as pork-parings, if he mis-demeaned himself; but Gurth did belong to Cedric: no human creature then went about connected with nobody; left to go his way into Bastilles or worse, under Laissez-faire; reduced to prove his relationship by dying of typhus-fever!⁶

The metaphors, it can be noted, derive from family relationships and from the condition of the human body, just as they frequently do in Contrasts; the source of Carlyle's imagery, which runs through the book as a whole, is another index of the true nature of what he values: the unity is vital and organic.

The mere presentation of material from the Middle Ages does not, then, constitute literary mediaevalism. What distinguishes that from works that contain subject-matter from or concerning that period and nothing more is the author's perception of the material. He uses it to express a particular view of society, which rests upon particular values, which is articulated by a particular technique and which is intended to fulfil a particular purpose; hence it becomes

a medium as well as a subject in its own right. The ancient society displayed by the device of antithesis is marked by a hierarchical arrangement of its members and a settled condition of tranquillity; the stable political order is matched by a pervasive religious faith which issues in pure worship of God and unremitting solicitude of men. This state of harmony and interconnection is invoked for the end of illuminating the shortcomings of contemporary society and in the hope of removing them. Mediaevalist literature is didactic, polemic and propagandist; and the vision which it teaches, fights for and seeks to persuade others to hold is, above all, an ideal of spiritual and thence social unity. There is thus a new seriousness in the way in which the Middle Ages are regarded and a new, conscientious purpose in the reason for which they are recalled.

It is because it partakes of this ideal embodied in this way that the vignette of Trafford's mill in Disraeli's novel is mediaevalist. It is a portrait of a model community, organized on a feudal principle, distinguished by peace and contentment, by respect and beauty, and invested by Disraeli with a sense of mutuality among its members which is contrasted with other episodes in the novel like the riot at Diggs's tommy-shop and the scenes of ignorance and brutality at Wodgate.

This contention for a revision of the concept of mediaevalism derives some corroboration from a discussion of the subject published more recently than Chandler's. K.L. Morris reveals that unity is a principal value in the thought of a number of the writers he assesses in The image of the Middle Ages in Romantic and Victorian literature

[D860]. Besides Carlyle and Pugin, Edmund Burke is one of them and another is Digby, whose naïve compilations receive more sympathetic treatment from Morris than it has been deemed legitimate to give them in the preceding chapter of this study, and whose influence on Pugin, especially by way of early instalments of Mores catholici, is shown to be more likely than Stanton's mention of that eleven-volume treatise makes it seem. That is one of the incidental interests of Morris's book: it indicates, as does Chandler's broader survey, the range of materials to be covered in an investigation of possible sources of Contrasts; but the promise held out by Morris's title is not fulfilled. The fact that the discussion of Pugin is short and offers no new insight is not what disqualifies the work from examination here. The cause of that is a fundamental disability from which it suffers: Morris's dissertation lacks a clear and consistent definition of the phenomenon which it sets out to explore. Sometimes mediævalism seems to connote a quest for reconciliation, to adopt Morris's word, of the spiritual with the physical, of the self with the external world, of various dualities that were perceived during the period in question, yet at other times it sounds like nothing more than a degree of attraction to the Roman Catholic faith. It is by reason of this imprecision that the study is considered not to warrant detailed attention here; it is cited only because it lends support to the case for modifying Chandler's notion of the nature of the mediævalist ideal.

Such a definition of literary mediævalism as is put forward here can accommodate other classic mediævalist texts such as Ruskin's chapter on 'The nature of Gothic' in The

stones of Venice with its juxtaposition of the happy creative life of the Gothic mason against the wretched degraded existence dragged out by the industrial 'hand;' and, because of its adjustment of Chandler's finding to admit the quality of unity, it can incorporate William Morris's News from Nowhere more comfortably than her limited description can, since Morris's Marxism makes obligatory the depiction of a society which is classless and equal and not authoritarian and divided by privilege. It is also a definition which allows Pugin's Contrasts to be seen in proper perspective.

Chandler on Pugin

Alice Chandler's discussion of Pugin is short, as befits the width of her survey. She calls Contrasts 'one of the clearest statements ever made of the medieval ideal' [D749, p.187] and gives a sensitive description of the plate of contrasted conduits and that of residences for the poor; she cites a sentence from True principles and a longer passage from the Apology for the revival to show that Pugin was using architecture to attack 'the moral tone of England' and was 'advocating a return to the purity of medieval Catholicism' (p.189).

It is perhaps inevitable that an account as brief as Chandler's should be superficial, although it should not be necessary to sacrifice accuracy to the exigencies of economy: the plate of contrasted residences for the poor was not published in 1836 as she writes. Other lapses in scholarliness can be found: it does not help the reader unfamiliar with Pugin to have the date of True principles

given as 1841 in the text and then 1853 in a footnote without indication that there were two early editions. Infelicities of expression also occur: that is the charitable construction to put on the statement that the plates of Contrasts show 'the same scenes of buildings in the fifteenth century and in the nineteenth' (p.188). A more serious flaw is Chandler's failure to relate Pugin's book to her general thesis; nothing is said about how the pictures in Contrasts display the presence or absence of order, her chief concern. Even that, however, is not so damaging an error as her remark, impossible for anyone who has seen a copy of Contrasts to make, that the 'book is composed entirely of a series of facing plates' (pp.187-88). Tribute though this may be to the attractiveness of Pugin's drawings and the instantaneous appeal of the visual medium, it is an observation, wrong on two counts, not just the obvious one, that destroys the reader's confidence: Chandler's examination of Contrasts is inadequate.

Had she wished to do so, Chandler might have found some support in Contrasts for her argument that order is a feature of the old societies depicted in mediævalist texts, although there is nothing in Pugin's volume to justify her claim that it is paramount. It is apparent from what has been said already about that work that the society Pugin envisages in the past lives in a settled state of tranquillity and peace; it is also clear that the political arrangement is hierarchical: kings rule the land, bishops govern the church. These are points which Chandler does not expound; perhaps she sees no need to do so. What might, perhaps should, have been noticed, however, about the two illustrations she chooses

to describe (p.188) is that the modern halves of them do not help her case. Although both display a condition of discord, between constable and urchin in one and master and pauper in the other, and to that extent sustain her thesis, the intimidating policeman and the brutal overseer belong to a society that has not ceased to be stratified. The administrative organization of the poor-house is unchanged: a master controls the modern institution just as a master controls the ancient, and discipline is enforced in the new institution as much as in the old. One man is set in power over another in both versions; and the policemen by the pump are likewise figures of authority. In these particular plates what alters is not the existence of power but the manner of its exercise, not the fact of surveillance--people watch the mediæval youth drawing water from the conduit--but the nature of it.

These aspects of the two plates Chandler selects for scrutiny highlight the shortcomings of her interpretation and indicate that it needs modification. Pugin's emphasis in the illustrations is ethical rather than political; what interests him and what he is anxious to display is the moral degeneracy of modern behaviour, the change of mood and atmosphere from the charity of one way of life to the harshness of its opposite, from the liberality of one to the greedy jealousy of the other: padlocks and chains are significant features of both nineteenth-century scenes. There is no hint in either of the plates that physical violence might be offered to authority. The waif wanting water is depicted in a very deferential attitude, one hand extended in polite, questioning or explanatory supplication; all he holds is a jug; and he is drawn so small that his head scarcely

reaches the officer's waist. All the indications of force are given by Pugin to the adult figure who looms above him, twice his height and made to look even taller by a top hat and long coat; what he carries is an offensive truncheon; his outstretched arm--the long one of the law; Pugin rather liked playing with words--is raised directly above the child's head; his body is inclined forward in an attitude of menace; and he is not alone. There is no more possibility of riot or disturbance in the modern poor-house. The poor man, starved into weakness as well as submission, is kept solitary and defenceless and confined; Pugin draws him seated, while the master, armed with whip and hand-cuffs, is shown in an adjacent vignette standing and so looking twice the size of his ward. Pugin appreciates the value of scale: in the scene showing the enforcement of discipline the two officials, who are male, do not have to contend with another man or two men whose resistance they must subdue but face instead nothing more threatening than the entreaties and tears of a kneeling woman and two children. There is violence in both these plates but it is not those who are subordinate who offer it, for they could hardly be represented more peaceful and innocent than they are; they present no physical danger to the established order. The violence, actual or potential, originates entirely with those in authority and bespeaks fear for themselves rather than disruptive intentions on the part of those they command.

It would be wrong to leave unqualified the implication that Pugin is not interested in political order. He feared democracy as much as any Victorian and sometimes became hysterical about manifestations of its advance, as he was

when he told his friend Hardman that he would shoot all Chartists as if they were rats or mad dogs.⁷ The illustrations to Contrasts, however, make no statements of that reactionary sort; indeed, from them, it could be deduced that the ancient church, on Pugin's showing, was more democratic than the modern, at least inasmuch as it was open to all people and never exclusive like the royal chapel at Brighton; and the text prepares for this impression when it describes bishops helping masons to build and all people joining in worship, 'without reference to rank or wealth' (A3.1, p. [17]). In this event, though, the definition of 'democratic' must shift from strict denotation of the political organization of the state to the looser connotation of general participation regardless of social standing; and it can be assumed that on other occasions both bishops and rank resume their customary sway.

In 1841 Pugin issued his True principles, about which Chandler has very little to say. There is matter in that volume, the printed version of two lectures delivered at Oscott while he was professor there, to clarify the nature of the order that Pugin values. The passage already quoted from it (on p.101 of this study), with its reference to gentry on their estates, lords of the manor, tenants and guests, declares his approval of the feudal polity but there is another kind of order at stake in the work, disclosed as clearly by Pugin's comments on the modern world as by those on the mediæval. The houses in the new and fashionable suburb of London near Regent's Park are said to put the observer in mind of 'the burning heat of Hindoostan, the freezing temperature of a Swiss mountain, the intolerable

warmth of an Italian summer' [A29.1, p.64]; elsewhere in the capital and in the provinces 'Every linen-draper's shop apes to be something after the palace of the Cæsars' and 'every paltry town has a cigar divan, with something stuck out to look Turkish' (p.66). Pugin's immediate point is that architecture should bear a direct relation to climate, which the farrago surrounding Regent's Park does not, and to nationality, which is now everywhere forgotten; but, beyond that, the variety of style betokens a condition of æsthetic and, more alarmingly still, intellectual anarchy.

Pugin takes up this question again at the beginning of his Apology for the revival, published in 1843, and elaborates it. Surveying the contemporary scene he finds that among architects 'One breathes nothing but the Alhambra,--another the Parthenon,--a third is full of lotus cups and pyramids from the banks of the Nile,--a fourth, from Rome, is all dome and basilica; whilst another works Stuart and Revett on a modified plan, and builds lodges, centenary chapels, reading-rooms, and fish-markets, with small Doric work and white brick facings' (A30.1, pp.[1] -2). In this 'Babel of confusion private judgment runs riot; every architect has a theory of his own, a beau ideal he has himself created' (p.[1]); architecture now is a 'carnival' and the practitioners of it are a 'motley group;' styles are 'adopted instead of generated' and Gothic is 'but ... one of the disguises of the day' (p.2).

It is not only in architecture that Pugin deplores the exaltation of private judgment; he attacks it just as strongly in religion. In the Protestant memorial he asks: 'Does not every ignorant boor claim the right of legislating

for himself in matters of faith?' [A24, p.23]. In the poster which he had printed in defence of Catholics at the time of the re-establishment of the hierarchy, he sardonically remarks that if God had meant the Bible to be man's guide in matters of faith He would have invented the printing-press in the beginning [see A49].

Pugin's denunciation of the increasing tendency to endow personal opinion with the authority of judgment, the intellectual facet of the advancing individualism of the period, shows up his conservatism. The trend is the equivalent in architecture of what he understood by Protestantism in religion: a loss of the old adherence to a single practice, be it in building or in worship or in any other activity. Insofar as the change ushers in a state of variety as limitless as the caprices of mankind, it is a movement towards disorder; but because it is an alteration that puts an end to all the relationships and correspondences that exist in Pugin's interpretation of the mediæval world, what its advent chiefly spells is destruction to the distinguishing value of unity.

The placard to be affixed to the walls in Ramsgate in defence of Catholicism was written just before Christmas in 1850 but the attitude it expresses was one Pugin had held for many years. It is the same view as informs the plate of contrasted towns, drawn in 1841, where a diverse jumble of ugly buildings erected for a range of competing and idiosyncratic sects is juxtaposed against the mediævalist vision of uninterrupted Gothic. Criticism of architecture coincides here with criticism of religious practice. While order, in the sense of tranquillity, is a small factor in the harmony

of the latter scene, its main characteristic, as has already been shown, is its unanimity: the churches are all built in the same style not because men live in a state of peace, although they do this, nor because their society is hierarchically arranged, although it is so, but because they believe in the same religion. The focus of the contrast in the other significant illustration added to the edition of 1841 is similarly not order so much as unity, evinced by the reciprocal solicitude and trust of the ancient residence for the poor. Social and political stability, ensured by the stratifications of authority, what Chandler means by order, is not a sufficient value to encompass Pugin's ideal; what distinguishes his vision of mediæval society is, in his own words, 'the faith, the zeal, and, above all, the unity' [A3.1, p.3] of it.

It would be repetitious to rehearse at this point the exposition given in an earlier chapter of the full nature of unity in Contrasts and the case made there for the primacy and centrality of the quality in Pugin's vision. In the light of the revised definition proposed here, Contrasts can be seen as a leading text in the sequence that constitutes Victorian mediævalism, seen as a forerunner of works by Carlyle, Ruskin and Morris. Once it is so established and accepted, it begins to assume its proper place in the imaginative literature of the century.

CHAPTER 7

Pugin in perspective

The background to the acceptance of Pugin

It is a commonplace of literary history that a great quantity of literature of social comment was written during the Victorian period. Certainly the subject-matter of the dominant literary form of the century, the novel, testifies to a remarkable interest, whatever its cause, in social issues of a general nature such as education and money and marriage; and the unprecedented conditions of an industrial era called into being a new kind of novel, the social novel, developed to expose circumstances of more recent creation. Not that this sort of inquiry was confined to this genre; poetry also explored topical issues, sometimes specific ones like the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Browning's 'Bishop Blougram's apology,' sometimes questions of broader scope like the role of the poet in modern society, to which Tennyson returns in a number of early works, or the nature of religious belief, which is a subject these two poets share with others; and when Punch printed Thomas Hood's poem 'The song of the shirt,' a piece of very direct social comment, sales of the magazine trebled.¹ Writers of non-fictional prose also discussed contemporary circumstances; the very titles of Carlyle's 'Signs of the times' and Mill's 'Spirit of the age,' both strictly pre-Victorian works, declare that these are essays of immediate concern.

What Carlyle called the 'condition-of-England question'² exercised many minds, if literature is to be believed; and to read a number of the texts which contribute to this large

body of social comment is to discover, be it by way of fictional narrative, allegorical poem, philosophical disquisition or other means, a recurrence to certain preoccupations. Particular features of contemporary society evidently stand out and are thought to require attention; specific tendencies are perceived, which warrant comment. Again and again, writers return to the same themes.

Religion is one of them, or, rather, the loss of religion. Carlyle writes Sartor resartus first and foremost to insist on the essential spirituality of existence and man's need to recognize this fact: man is a 'soul,' not a 'stomach,'³ he proclaims, and formulates his imperative on the strength of that observation: 'Love not Pleasure; love God.'⁴ In a well-known image in 'Dover beach' Arnold laments that he can hear in his own time 'only ... [the] melancholy long withdrawing roar' of the sea of faith which he imagines once enfolding the earth. In quite a different context Newman expresses pitying scorn for those who refuse theology a place among the subjects of study in a university, but the lectures in which he does so were deemed necessary precisely because those who were willing to omit it from the curriculum were numerous and influential.⁵

The disappearance of God, to borrow the phrase of a modern critic,⁶ brought consequences. One was the undermining of authority. If there was no first cause, there could be no ultimate sanction. Existing institutions, once believed to have been divinely appointed, could be challenged and even destroyed; when God disappeared, He took with Him the divine right of kings and the ten commandments; hence the established political order and the accepted moral code could both,

it was feared, be threatened. At a time when the excesses of the French revolution had not been forgotten, democracy was for many a frightening possibility; and the abandonment of time-honoured rules of conduct opened a prospect of rampant individualism and lawlessness. Arnold discerned beyond the social anarchy a condition of intellectual chaos and offered culture, the discrimination and guidance of the best, as a cure. That was in 1867; earlier, in his poetry, he had recorded the sensation of 'sick hurry ... [and] divided aims'⁷ that beset his contemporaries in 'this iron time|Of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears;'⁸ and for himself he used the word 'multitudinousness' to define the quality of a life in which rival yet ephemeral creeds clamoured for his allegiance. 'Viewiness'⁹ was what Newman called the intellectual superficiality of an age which changed so fast that there was held to be no time for deep knowledge or long reflection. The accelerating mutability of the period brought a pursuit of novelty and the overthrow of tradition: nobody, it was felt, knew what to believe or, therefore, how to act.

Yet to have nothing to believe in presented itself as an intolerable state; hence, there was some clinging to ancient formulæ even though the original meaning had been forgotten and the vital significance lost. Carlyle termed it a 'mechanical' age as opposed to a 'dynamical' one;¹⁰ Mill drew a distinction between dead dogma and living truth.¹¹ Hence too, from the will to believe, arose a desire to impose a significance if it could not be felt to be innately present, a desire manifest, for instance and perhaps in a ludicrous but also in a sad way, in the measurements of the building

that was to house the Great Exhibition, the period's most triumphant celebration of its own progress: because of the date, the Crystal palace was to be 1851 feet long. Victorians, apparently, would force the world to yield meaning if it did not do so of its own accord.

The attitude which most frequently filled the vacuum left by the decline of religious faith was what Carlyle labelled 'Mammonism.'¹² Writers commenting on the time repeatedly convict it of worldliness: it values money, it values success, it values power, and it values all of them too much. Ruskin tells the merchants of Bradford that what they worship is not God but the 'Goddess of Getting-on,' or 'Britannia of the Market,'¹³ and he assures parents in Manchester likewise that the highest good they conceive for their children is that they be seen 'munching and sparkling'¹⁴ at Society dinners. In Dickens's novels, characters like Merdle and Veneering, both bankers whose houses crash before the plot has finished with them, in Little Dorrit and Our mutual friend respectively, are devotees of the gospel of advancement in life; and their careers and even their names show the author's opinion of them. A.H. Clough makes the same point, if in a different tone, when he gives the Spirit in Dipsychus his mockingly irreverent refrain of

How pleasant it is to have money, heigh ho,
How pleasant it is to have money (ll.134-35);

and the mordant irony of his poem 'The latest decalogue' is even more apposite:

Thou shalt have one God only; who
Would be at the expense of two? (ll.1-2).

The chief source of the new wealth that not only fostered the admiration of prosperity but also largely

facilitated and perhaps even made possible the rise from a lower to a higher position in a decreasingly stratified society was industrialism. Many Victorian voices were lifted in praise of the age of steam but not all. Ruskin complained that travelling by train made him feel like a parcel because it robbed him of control of his journey;¹⁵ and insofar as it illuminates a tendency of industrialization the remark is not frivolous: Ruskin expatiates much more seriously on the dehumanization of the workman in his chapter on 'The nature of Gothic' in The stones of Venice. Dickens stresses the same power when he describes the lives of the operatives in the monotony of Coketown in Hard times; Disraeli and Elizabeth Gaskell in their social novels also display the appalling conditions of the new factories and slums and the ruthless calculating spirit that lay behind them. In many eyes, industrialism was ugly, morally as well as æsthetically.

Perhaps, however, the most dreaded aspect of what the Victorians believed to be their age of unparalleled change was the loss of the social cohesion that was essential if society was to deserve its name. The departure, if departure it were, of the imputed spirit of community, the disappearance of the feeling and practice of mutuality that was believed to have bound men together in former times, was caused in large measure by phenomena already noticed and was sanctioned, moreover, by the atomistic utilitarian attitude which identified self-interest as the strongest motive in human activity. This conviction of a dangerous loss of integrity runs through the literature of social comment of the period, from the dandies and poor slaves of Sartor resartus, through the 'great gulf'¹⁶ that separates the manu-

facturing classes of Mary Barton, through characters like Dickens's Jo of Tom-all-Alone's in Bleak house, past the divisions recorded in Tennyson's stories of the knights of the symbolic round table, and on as late as John Ball's proclamation in Morris's work that 'fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell.'¹⁷ These are primarily social examples; behind them lies the perception of intellectual disintegration, to which Newman's image of the circle of knowledge and Arnold's critical desire for totality bear witness, and beyond that again, the spiritual isolation attested by publications of Carlyle. The loss of unity in every department of life was a persistent theme.

It falls quite outside the scope of this study to examine in any detail the writings of these authors. There is no evidence that Pugin read the works of any of them except Dickens and perhaps Newman, although acquaintance with a notion like Newman's theory of development does not prove that the essay expounding it has been read; and it is hard to think that Pugin did not at least know of the publications of Carlyle, since he lived in Cheyne Walk in Chelsea and then Cheyne Row while Carlyle was living in Cheyne Walk. In making this quick sketch, however, there is no intention to suggest that Pugin was influenced by the works alluded to, a few of which were, in any event, not published until after his death. It is acknowledged that some of the concerns they deal with are not exclusively Victorian; and it is recognized that some important considerations, such as the impact of the revelations of science, are not taken into account. Nevertheless, if this outline of at least some of the leading ideas expressed in the literature of social comment is accurate,

the summary of them should make it apparent that attention focusses on three main points: the increasing secularization and the increasing materialism of the Victorian period, and the largely consequent loss of unity. Whether these attributes were in fact taking hold more strongly and widely in nineteenth-century society than they had done in the past is a historical question not at issue here, any more than the critical one of the legitimacy of treating literature as if it were documentary record. What it is sought to establish is simply that numerous writers, of differing personalities and temperaments and backgrounds, believed that this was the case and used their compositions accordingly to point it out and, usually, to deplore it; and, further, that the reception which their opinions met indicates that many Victorians shared their beliefs.

What view, in very broad terms, a writer took of contemporary life depended on which of two schools of thought he belonged to. Modern scholarship has seen no need to disagree with Mill's assessment of the intellectual cast of his time. In a pair of brilliantly perceptive essays published between the appearance of the first edition of Contrasts and the issuing of the second, Mill studied two thinkers whom he identified as the 'two great seminal minds of England in their age.'¹⁸ One of his subjects was Jeremy Bentham, representative in philosophy of the rational, empirical tradition that descended from the eighteenth century; the other was S.T. Coleridge, who both led and epitomized the Romantic reaction against that mode. The two schools of thought were opposed on every point and their empire, therefore, in the early Victorian mind was divided but Mill was in no doubt of

their influence: 'every Englishman of the present day is by implication either a Benthamite or a Coleridgian.'¹⁹

Utilitarians, followers of Bentham, were those who welcomed change, encouraged the spirit of inquiry that was abroad, advocated the liberty of men especially in economic affairs; their criterion was utility, whether an action or institution or tenet promoted the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people, whether it produced more pleasure or pain. Much modified as his utilitarianism was, Mill could even be glad of the waning of institutionalized Christianity, since he regarded that decline as an improvement in the lot of humanity. He was eager to assist change because his conviction of the power of reason sanctioned a belief in the perfectibility of man; others, dispensing with philosophic justification for their attitude, were content to let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change while they enjoyed the benefits brought by what they regarded as progress.

All the Victorians named except Mill belong, to a greater or less extent--Arnold and Dickens are perhaps the two whose inclusion in the category most requires qualification--to the Coleridgean school of thought and the explanation of their affiliation is largely inherent in the features which Mill finds characteristic of it. He describes the reaction against the modes of thought of the preceding century as ontological, religious, conservative, concrete and historical, and poetical. Members of the group which Mill defines believe in the existence of the unseen which cannot be proved by logic but must be apprehended by intuition; they want to worship; they set store by the past and would

keep the best of it; they are wary of the abstract and prefer to argue from old example; and they esteem highly the imagination and the works of art in which it issues. Men of this stamp, thoughtful observers of the Victorian scene, recognize that change brings as much loss as gain and that there is cause at least for regret and often for dismay and alarm in the altered circumstances. Their social criticism is the witness to that perception and to their concern.

It is among the writers of this Coleridgean group of authors that the tradition of Victorian mediaevalism has its place. The primary objective of the texts which compose it is to improve the conditions of life of contemporary man by setting before him an alternative that has all the qualities of Mill's definition of the nineteenth-century reaction. If Carlyle and Ruskin and, with reservations, Morris belong to the tradition, so too does Pugin; and he precedes them. The seriousness with which he regards the Middle Ages, the values with which he invests them, separate his ideal from the comparatively shallow interest in mediaeval times of men like Walpole; and, even if his publication Contrasts anticipates the commencement of the queen's reign by a few months, his application of his vision to the purpose of social amelioration aligns him with the Victorians. Like many of them he sees modern society growing increasingly godless, worldly, fragmented and barren; and as remedy he presents a way of life in total contrast. His ideal obtains therefore the attraction of difference but the true reasons for his appeal lie in the nature rather than the simple fact of that difference. Some qualities, both of manner and of substance, in Pugin's vision could, however, be thought to stand in the

way of its acceptance; and it will be necessary, therefore, quickly to notice those before proceeding to the grounds of its appeal.

Obstacles to acceptance

If the vision of a world united in all respects inspires Pugin's whole œuvre, it could be surmised that his very constancy to it must run him into danger. Even if he approaches the vision by avenues as distant from each other as Gregorian chant and the financing of the episcopate, or the character of Cranmer and the correct jointing of masonry, Pugin's destination, it may be thought, will be the same. Reiteration will not necessarily invalidate the ideal but it may weary the reader. He may grow tired of a diction in which words like 'glorious' and 'miserable' come to seem unjustifiably over-worked in their frequency and of a rhetoric which importunes him too relentlessly to share a point of view; more, he may suspect that, despite the energy of his expression, Pugin has nothing new to say.

Repetitiousness is not the only obstacle that could be supposed in the way of the reception of Pugin's ideas. Many of his publications, especially but not only the polemical pamphlets and the vindictory letters to editors, were issued in response to passing events, with the resultant risk that their interest may lapse with the occasion that calls them into being: an unsuccessful protest against a memorial is not likely to be remembered once the decision is made to proceed with the commemoration. Topicality may attract the attention of the moment but even in a piece expressing a mature conviction it can easily consign a work

to oblivion.

These are both, however, negligible hindrances by the side of an element that is central to the vision to which Pugin persistently held. While his Catholicism satisfied and sustained him, it presented to most of his fellow-countrymen an impassable barrier. Arthur Fane, protesting at the bias, at least as he saw it, of Contrasts [see D7, D8 and D9], was only the first of a long line of objectors to the faith which Pugin ardently propagated. In his professional practice there can be no doubt that his Catholicism cost Pugin distinguished commissions, the one, for instance, to re-build Balliol College, Oxford, in 1843 [see, e.g., D706]; and in such a climate, although his fiery champion-ship of a feared, resented and suspected minority may sometimes have roused curiosity, there is little reason to think that it would not have deterred more readers than it encouraged. To belong to the established church was to give one's spiritual allegiance to the self-same monarch as commanded one's political loyalty; but to be or to turn Catholic was to acknowledge, in the pope, an alternative, perhaps a supreme, sovereign and therefore to fail or to cease to be truly English. Nationalism was opposed to Catholicism as the response to Pugin's publications from Contrasts to the Earnest address makes plain. His tendency to obsessive repetition, his insistent tone, the flaws in his argument, the intolerance of his proscription of all manners but the Gothic, the patent injustice of his criticism, the sheer human impossibility of putting the clock back: no quality, actual or alleged, in Pugin's publications can have so much impeded and even precluded the acceptance of his ideal.

in his own time as its Catholicism.

Reasons for acceptance

All these accusations were urged with more or less force against Pugin's writings by his contemporary readers, as reviews of his publications demonstrate, and most of them have continued to be laid here and there in the commentary written since his death. Yet if the literature of the time is a reliable index to what has been called the Victorian frame of mind it is possible to suggest reasons why the writings might have attracted attention and been appreciated despite their shortcomings, for the vision they embody contains qualities which can be seen now to supply what the perception of the century deemed deficiencies in contemporary life.

At their best Pugin's writings have the eloquence and wit that have from the first been acknowledged in his drawings. To read his pamphlets beside those of his adversaries like Hakewill [see A2] or Lathbury [D56] is to recognize at once a superiority that comes from a power to state a case clearly and quickly and to write with vigour and pungency; such opponents lack the deftness, flexibility and range of Pugin; nor do they know, as he does, the telling value of, for instance, a homely analogy or a forthright colloquialism. Pugin is reported to have found composition difficult²⁰ but the results give no impression of labour. One of his acquaintances recorded that he found Pugin 'the most unwearied talker, for a spirited one' [D596, p.99] that he had ever met; and that vitality is often evident in the writing, whether Pugin is in a serious mood of recommendation

or a comic vein of satire. The appearance is one of fresh directness, sometimes even of triumphant spontaneity; and in a period following straight after the Romantic that quality of personal sincerity could be predicted to appeal as surely as his earnestness would capture an audience that was on the brink of becoming Victorian.

Nevertheless, while these aspects of his style may make Pugin's writings engaging, it could hardly be maintained that they would give his publications either their immediate impact or their lasting value. The true source of Pugin's appeal lies less in the manner of his utterance than in the substance of his ideal.

It was very soon after Victoria's accession to the throne that Carlyle identified one of the chief characteristics of the period to which she was to give her name. 'Destitute of faith and terrified at scepticism',²¹ was how he described his time already in 1838 and many comments in literature, besides events of a historical kind, during the decades that followed tend to confirm his observation. If he was right, if the century did experience a waning of religious belief and an inclination, conscious or otherwise, to look for a substitute with which to fill the vacuum thus alarmingly created, the vision which Pugin articulates in Contrasts and maintains in his subsequent publications can be seen to possess qualities adapted to meet a contemporary need. Insofar as the faith that lies at its heart is Roman Catholicism the creed it rests on stands in the way of acceptance of the ideal: the intellectual drift of the age being away from what were increasingly apprehended as the constricting rigidities of formal systems towards the freedom of individual

choice and interpretation, the dogmatic prescriptions of Catholicism, compounded with its hated political implications, would not make it palatable to the majority of Pugin's readers. Exceptions existed in particular cases, especially in Oxford where, at least by his own account,²² Pugin's publications were eagerly awaited by those whose investigation of the origins of the Church of England was already leading them back beyond the Reformation and whose sympathy for the Middle Ages would in many instances eventually prompt them to follow Newman to Rome. Members of the Oxford Movement, however, might be regarded as predisposed to receive Pugin gladly; the average Englishman would be more likely to view him with suspicion and, more probably, hostility.

What could be held to prevent the wholesale rejection of his ideal that could be predicted of such prejudice and animosity is the emphasis in Pugin's writings. Not one of them is a theological treatise; while other writers, the tractarians, for example, discuss questions like the atonement, baptism or confession, Pugin's interest is not doctrinal. They may issue pamphlets about transubstantiation; what he publishes is a glossary of ecclesiastical ornament and a plea for Gregorian chant. Having made his conversion, Pugin takes the tenets of Catholicism for granted and concerns himself with matters that are perhaps best called liturgical. He is an architect and a designer, not a priest or a student of theology; what he contends for is the correct cut of the chasuble, the proper form of a fere-trum. The points of belief from which he argues his case for Gothic are points that are the common property of Christianity--the cross, the resurrection, the trinity--not

the exclusive, distinguishing articles of any one church. In his professional practice, although he doubtless hoped to promote the interests of Catholicism by his compliance, he was happy to design for clergymen of the Church of England, as he often did--his client at Wymeswold was orthodox enough to go on to become dean of Canterbury [see C5]--and for other architects commissioned by them, as he did for the high-Anglican William Butterfield [D759] and R.C. Carpenter.²³ Similarly in his writings: where the stress falls is on the beauty of ritual and its setting rather than on specific tenets of distinctive belief.

This is not to imply that Pugin was an indifferent Catholic. On the contrary, he repeatedly claimed that he was a most dutiful and loyal son of the church and asserted his fidelity in the smallest details; and there is no cause to disbelieve him. It may be true, however, that his conversion was due in larger measure to æsthetic considerations than to any other; certainly the reason was assigned in his own time [see, for instance, D23] and while it is not necessary to share either Ruskin's waspish view that he was 'lured into the Romanist Church by the glitter of it,... blown into a change of religion by the whine of an organ-pipe; stitched into a new creed by gold threads on priests' petticoats' [D372, p.371] or Richard Simpson's insensitive one that all Pugin cared to see was processions playing 'bo-peep among the pillars' [D451, p.397], there may be substance in the allegation that he had not so much given up his youthful interest in the theatre as transferred it to another stage. There is irony in the notion: nothing provoked Pugin's scorn more surely than what he castigated as the theatricality

of modern church services in which the congregation watched the priest performing as if he were actor and they audience; and he flatly denied that his conversion was primarily due to the æsthetic appeal of Catholic ceremonial [see A10]. Nevertheless the ease with which he strays into a proposition bordering on the heretical, in his Earnest address, is of a piece with the lack of interest in doctrinal issues that is evident in his earlier publications. He was not a theologian and his vision reflects that fact.

Here is, then, if not justification for, at least mitigation of the enormity of, his equation of 'Catholic' with 'Christian' and 'Gothic.' Of course, to accept Pugin's vision in its entirety is of necessity to embrace Roman Catholicism: only those who venerate the relics of saints require a fere-tory, of any form. Strictly, ritual cannot be parted from the tenets of which it is the issue and the expression. That was the discovery made by the Cambridge Camden Society which endorsed enough of Pugin's dicta to find itself bombarded by accusations of popery and forced into severance from the university and a suspension of proceedings, as well as into stinging attacks on Pugin [see D252]. Taken literally, the faith inherent in Pugin's vision, however strong the concentration on ritual, however subordinate the attention to creed, must be received as Roman Catholicism.

To conclude therefore that Pugin has no faith to offer to the bulk of his destitute but terrified countrymen would, however, be premature. Faith is not a matter of doctrine alone, not a question only of formal propositions to which intellectual assent is required; it is an emotional state as much as a cerebral conviction and it issues in conduct as

well as in creeds. Faith in this sense, faith as an attitude, faith as a feeling, focussed on the supernatural but vague and unspecific, is a quality which Pugin's vision makes abundantly available; and if the century was on the whole growing averse to the stringencies of codified religion Pugin's presentation of a generalized atmosphere of devotion and worship could be considered, like Carlyle's preference of skyey immensities and azure infinities to God, a more skilful stroke of propaganda than a conspicuous advocacy of prominent theological principles might have been.

When Pugin describes the interior of a great mediæval church, in the extract from Contrasts previously quoted (pp.17-18), one element of the spectacle that he dwells on is its effect on the beholder. The passage declares that the different parts of the building all 'alike conspire to fill the mind with veneration ... and to make it feel ... sublimity.' References to 'human redemption,' 'original sin' and 'prayer' remind the spectator of the helplessness and frailty of unassisted mortality; and allusion to the 'gigantic pulpit,' the 'lofty campaniles' and the 'vast edifice' reinforces the sense of man's littleness. There is another technique employed in the account to make the individual being even less important: the human occupants of the church, when they are mentioned, which is only rarely, are simply the collective, undifferentiated 'people,' whereas the building is described item by item. Even Pugin's syntax is made to co-operate: the people do not hear the sacred truths from the pulpit, let alone actively listen to them; instead, they are the recipients of what is 'proclaimed to' them, the indirect objects of the passive voice of the verb. Within the para-

graph values are polarized in a way that reflects the principle of contrast on which the whole book is constructed. It is to the building that the sanctity is allocated, for it is, repeatedly, 'sacred,' 'solemn,' 'holy' and 'venerable;' it is the building which is accorded the beauty of the 'precious gems,' the 'rich and varied hues,' the 'gleam;' and it is the building which possesses the power when the 'deep intonations of the bells ... summon the people:' once again, human beings are presented as subject to a superior force.

The effect, then, of Pugin's paragraph is, like that of the building which he describes, 'to fill the mind with veneration for the place.' It is designed to foster humility and instil a sense of man's unworthiness and to inspire a feeling of reverence: the way in which the eye is 'carried up and lost in the height of the vaulting' is the physical equivalent of the sense of wonder that Pugin hopes to produce in the reader. His spirit is to be uplifted by the picture of the overwhelming, stupendous structure and he is to forget himself and his petty, earthly concerns in this exaltation. The appeal is to his emotions: he must have the warmth of heart to echo the psalmist's cry. The rhetoric is deployed to create in the reader a mood of worship and awe; nothing is said of intellectual conviction. Pugin plays down the signs of doctrinal distinction: the high altar with its tabernacle may not be common to all faiths but there is nothing controversial about phrases like 'the most holy mysteries' or 'the Highest;' and while it is doubtless latently tendentious, in that Pugin uses it elsewhere as a synonym for 'Catholic,' here the word 'Christian' in

'Christian church' and 'Christian worship' is one that any reader may lay claim to and one that Pugin may choose deliberately to blunt the edge of objection and ensure that his vision is received.

It may seem at first glance that to invite the reader in this way to enter the church and be struck and overcome by its majesty is not to awaken in him feelings of a religious nature, not to promote faith; rather than intensifying spirituality, the emphasis on the building may be thought to confirm the reader as the very tourist whom Pugin despises and whom he satirizes in another passage already quoted (p.25) from Contrasts. Such a visitor sees the church merely as a physical object and to direct his attention to arches, windows, images, lights, may not of itself appear calculated to alert him to the existence of any sphere beyond the material.

Certainly Pugin stresses the physical aspects of the structure and its fittings: font, pulpit, altar, vaulting, aisles and so on are indeed mentioned and attention is permitted, even encouraged, to linger. It is not, however, allowed to rest. Beyond the material presence lie two important perceptions which must be grasped. When a physical object is noticed, what the reference selects and highlights is its fineness: the font of brass, the huge pulpit, the altar 'resplendent with precious gems,' the 'intricacy of the ailes [sic],' the 'rich and varied hues' of the glass. Nothing in the scene is ugly or poor or mean. Apart from the allure which such details might have for a sensibility distressed by the harsh sights proliferated by a manufacturing economy, this accent on splendour is intended to raise

the thought that no material could be too costly, no form too difficult of execution, for the mediæval workman and those who set him to his task. It functions therefore to illuminate the character of the society of the Middle Ages by displaying the generosity and devotion of that time, and it seeks by the æsthetic appeal of the items seen individually as well as in their cumulative effect to arouse in the reader a desire to emulate and reproduce that beauty and excellence and, as a prerequisite, to stimulate comparable feelings of liberality and dedication in him.

This is not the only way in which Pugin uses the physical forms of the church to increase spiritual awareness: another is more important still. As each item of which the structure is composed is introduced it is assigned not only a material character of size, shape, colour, texture, but another quality besides. Elsewhere in Contrasts Pugin claims that the 'triangular form and arrangement of arches, tracery, and even subdivisions of the buildings themselves' of the mediæval period remind the spectator of the doctrine of the trinity, and claims too that the fact of the resurrection is represented by the 'great height and vertical lines' [A3.2, p.3] of Gothic architecture. In this present extract also he expounds the symbolism of the style. Having asserted that 'every portion of the sacred fabric bespeaks its origin,' Pugin immediately points out by way of example that 'the very plan of the edifice is the emblem of human redemption,' the cross. As he goes on, he recalls the link between the font and baptism, the pulpit and the sermon, the altar and the sacraments. The connection here is between the object and its use rather than between the object and its origin but in both

cases what Pugin is revealing is a meaning beyond the literal presence. Once again the reader is forbidden to rest in the immediate and required instead to transcend it to seize an ulterior significance. The very stones of construction are thus made, hard and unyielding and inert though they are in themselves, to render up by way of their arrangement in the height of the vaulting or the pointed heads of the arches and windows evidence for some Christian truth. Once it is irradiated by the light of belief in this way, even what may seem a trivial detail takes its place in the great cohesive system. The argument works in reverse, too: once its implication is apprehended, the inverted torch, for instance, on the modern episcopal monument in one of the contrasting plates of the edition of 1841 cannot continue to be regarded as an elegant decoration chosen by a superior classical taste since, in representing the extinction of light and hence of life, it is a totally unsuitable ornament for the tomb of an English prelate who believes in the resurrection. The æsthetic criterion is insufficient: beauty alone is not enough, when it is a mere matter of form. An application of the old principle of decorum is made: the ornament must be fittingly Christian. In the great Gothic church, on the other hand, that principle was always observed; in conducting him through it, Pugin makes the reader aware of the spiritual reality that lies behind each material manifestation and the reader finds that that reality is everywhere Christian; all elements of the structure combine and conspire not only to fill his mind with veneration and sublimity and to declare the devotion of the original builders and worshippers but also to display, by the agency and power of the

symbolism, the truths of the Christian religion.

In the Christian meaning which Pugin thus declares the forms of Gothic to possess there resides another reason why his vision could be expected to enjoy a favourable reception from his contemporaries. If the Gothic style is regarded in its practical aspect, no superiority can be claimed for it over any other constructional method: all are ways of providing shelter and the Gothic cannot be argued to keep out wind and water any better or any worse than, say, the classic. When, however, symbolic significance is taken into account, Gothic acquires a power to attract which cannot be matched by any alternative style. It becomes useful, to a particular end. Insofar as it is the science of building, architecture does not lie open to the pragmatic objection that can be levelled against arts that are called pure or fine: its benefits are self-evident in a way that those of a painting or a piece of music are not. In as much as it is also a fine art, however, the products of architecture too, like those of painting or musical composition, could be dismissed as otiose: provided construction is solid and secure, other matters, it could be maintained, are unnecessary, extravagant, frivolous.

There is no need here to document the prevalence of the utilitarian cast of mind in Victorian England, particularly in the form that Arnold labelled philistine: the poems of Tennyson and Robert Browning that circle round the question of the relation between literature and the rest of life bear sufficient witness to its deterrent effect on the creative artist. It can be assumed that utilitarian demands were made of architecture as they were of other arts. Pugin's true

principles contain one of his answers to them, that relating to the practical side of building; here in his symbolic interpretation of the forms of Gothic is the other. Good architecture, Gothic architecture, is useful architecture; it is also Christian architecture. Every detail of it has a purpose that is not only structural but also significant; in the ecclesiastical building and in the civil and domestic besides, the forms are a permanent and ubiquitous articulation of faith. One of the functions which the Gothic style serves is thus to aid devotion; surrounded by memorials of his creed, man's attention is constantly called to it by the illustrative forms that he sees, and his sense of it is strengthened. By an age which feared the loss of religion as much as the Victorians did, such an architectural declaration of belief could be deemed to be of immediate and perpetual use.

It is principally from its symbolic dimension that Pugin's vision derives another quality which his readers may have found attractive. At a time when the critical spirit that was abroad called all things in question, authority became an emotional as well as an intellectual need. Distracted and wearied by the multitudinousness of which Arnold complained, the reader might welcome certainty as strong as Pugin offers. It is partly a matter of tone: just as Carlyle was sure of the eternal verities, just as Ruskin was to be equally dogmatic, so Pugin's is a voice of assurance. Yet his confidence is not simply personal; his vision is not presented as a private inspiration. Rather, he rests his case on, in the words of the Present state, 'authority, not originality,... not individual celebrity' [A28.3, p.108].

One source of the authority is precedent: the Gothic forms he advocates have the warrant of history; actuality displays them, tradition confirms them. The great cathedrals of England stand, to prove his argument by their example--and prove it in a manner that can satisfy the empirical frame of mind; and Pugin's great scholarship, his wealth of citation, is always available to lend additional support. There is a further appeal to patriotism too, to the sense of nationality: Gothic was the mode of the English forefathers of the English Victorians. The most forceful agent in endowing Pugin's vision with authority is, however, none of these but rather its capacity to symbolize. Gothic is ancient; Gothic is English; above all, Gothic is Christian.²⁴ Its power to mediate belief accretes to it a validity as old and as strong as that of Christianity itself. By extension the vision of which the style is the foundation and the guarantee acquires an equal value: it is true.

To these qualities must be added the unity that is the supreme characteristic of Pugin's ideal. By that virtue all the divisions perceived in modern life can be closed: the individual human being ceases to be the 'Hapless Fraction',²⁵ of Carlyle. At the subjective end of the spectrum, man's mind concludes the debilitating dialogue with itself of Arnold and at the other, the political, the 'two nations',²⁶ of Disraeli become one. The value operates diachronically too: man is linked to the past and can have hope for the future. There is no need to elaborate: over and above the conjunction of beauty and utility that contemporary artists might have envied, unity is for the Victorians who feared the collapse of their society because of its fragmentation

the strongest recommendation of the substance of Pugin's vision.

The ideal is expressed, moreover, with a degree of engagement that commands attention. In a period characterized by, in Mill's words, 'loud disputes and weak convictions',²⁷ Pugin's rhetoric leaves no doubt of his earnestness; just as the new seriousness with which he treats mediaeval subject-matter marks his discourse off from the earlier dilettante attitude that regarded the Middle Ages as nothing more than quaint or picturesque, so his evident concern for the condition of society makes him typically Victorian. He is, in his small way, one of John Holloway's Victorian sages.²⁸ He can take his place with later, greater literary figures because of his endeavour to combat the tendencies towards increasing secularization and increasing materialism of his age by promulgating an ideal of spirituality and significance, of beauty and belief, above all, of unity. For the valour with which he prosecuted that endeavour he may have earned the respect of readers in his own time; certainly he can win that of those of the present.

CONCLUSION

In 1843 Pugin started to build on land he had bought on the cliff-top just outside the Kentish coastal town of Ramsgate, which was then a fashionable resort. He commenced with a house for himself, the Grange; it included a chapel, for the use not only of his family and servants but also of Catholics of the vicinity, residents and visitors alike; to encourage them to come, he had notices of the times of services printed for public distribution [see D266]. Later he added to the Grange a detached studio in which his assistants drew out cartoons for stained glass under his supervision; his own room, overlooking the sea, where he made his designs and consulted the books and sketches that he called his 'authorities,' had already been incorporated in the house. Earlier than the studio, however, he began to erect a church on a site he had purchased immediately adjacent to his house; the locality appealed to him partly because of its proximity to the place where St. Augustine was said to have landed when he brought Christianity to England centuries before. Named in honour of the saint, Pugin's church took shape gradually, complete with cloisters, cemetery, school and presbytery: the scale of the conception was ambitious enough to run him into grave and chronic debt.¹ He not only planned these structures and paid for them, he helped with their construction too. He designed all the fittings and furnishings for the buildings,² from the iron hinges for the doors to the bindings of the books, from the headstones for the graves to the paper strips with appropriate black-letter inscriptions that were to decorate

the edges of his bookshelves,³ from the chalices and vestments to the dinner-plates [see D857A] and beds. He employed a mistress to teach the Catholic children of the neighbourhood in his school;⁴ he wanted a resident priest, although when Wiseman offered to appoint one Pugin had to beg him to delay for he could not afford the cost;⁵ he rented rooms to be used for the care of the sick, particularly any Catholic sailors putting into the busy port, and he intended to add a hospital to the group of buildings at St. Augustine's.⁶ The entire undertaking, abruptly cut off before its completion--the tower of the church still lacks its projected spire to be a beacon to travellers, for instance--by his madness and untimely death at the age of forty but not before he had gifted all the ecclesiastical buildings to the authorities of the Catholic church,⁷ is Pugin's personal attempt to realize his vision, to translate it into stone. In their intermingling of work and worship and in their provision for the community even more significantly than in their Gothic forms, the Grange and St. Augustine's are a paradigm of the way in which he thought man should live.

Pugin's professional career can be viewed in the same light, as inspired by his vision of mediæval perfection, even if, in practice, he had frequently to yield to the wishes of patrons. Since it permeates his private and his professional life in this way, it is not surprising that Pugin's writings too should have been consistently prompted by his vision. Just as his work as an architect and a designer showed men how to live, so his publications taught them what to believe. Should any reader be tempted to dismiss the ideal as remote and impracticable, Pugin could point

to the actuality of his executed plans and designs: at Ramsgate in particular, if piecemeal elsewhere, they were the lifelong demonstration of the vision that had had its full exegesis at the outset, in Contrasts in 1836.

Received opinion remembers Pugin as an architect and a designer in the decorative arts and there is no intention in this thesis to challenge that basis of his reputation. No one would claim that he is a great author, but it is argued that his writings deserve a place in literary history. While the extent of his originality cannot here be calculated and while subsequent influence is not postulated, chronologically at least Contrasts stands as the first of the texts that eventually form the tradition of Victorian mediaevalism. Hindsight can see that Pugin belongs in the intellectual company of writers who compose the Coleridgean stream in nineteenth-century literature. If those social critics were correct in their interpretation of the quality of Victorian life, the vibrant and organic vision mediated by Pugin's verbal and visual rhetoric can justly be held to have been, on several fundamental counts, welcome to many of his contemporaries. When Pugin told Hardman in a letter written near the end of his life that 'my writings much more than what I have been able to do have revolutionized the Taste of England,'⁸ he may have underestimated the importance of his architectural and decorative work--what he had been able to 'do'--but he may also have come closer than has always been appreciated to formulating the truth about the ideal which found its first and finest expression in Contrasts.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Letter to E.J. Willson preserved in the Laurence Hall Fowler collection at The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
2. Numbers in square brackets thus, as [A1], [A2] and so on, are cross-references to entries in Margaret Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin: an annotated critical bibliography (London: Mansell, 1987).
3. Letter postmarked 16 March 1842 to J.R. Bloxam preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford [MS 528/79].

CHAPTER 1

1. Quoted in Christopher Ricks, Tennyson (London: Macmillan, 1972), p.92.
2. A full description of these projects is given in the section on 'Ideal Schemes,' pp.129-55, of Alexandra Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1985).
3. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp.138 and 140.
4. A.W. Hakewill, Thoughts upon the style of architecture to be adopted in rebuilding the Houses of Parliament (London: John Weale, 1835).

CHAPTER 2

1. The way of the world, IV. iv. 21.
2. Thomas Hope, An historical essay on architecture. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1835.
3. Robert Willis, Remarks on the architecture of the Middle Ages (Cambridge: J. and J.J. Deighton, 1835).
4. William Butterfield's dedication is comparable but later.
5. Alexandra Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family, p.33.
6. Wedgwood, op. cit., p.51.

CHAPTER 3

1. 'The Oxford Malignants and Dr Hampden,' Edinburgh

review 63 (April 1836): 225-39.

2. John Britton, The architectural antiquities of Great Britain. Vol.5: Chronological history and graphic illustrations of Christian architecture in England (London: M.A. Nattali, 1835). Hope, op. cit., 1:363.

CHAPTER 4

1. Pugin's work for Barry is well documented in the monograph edited by Port [D798] and his collaboration with Gillespie Graham in James Macaulay's studies [D791 and D859].
2. Pugin's diaries survive, held by the Victoria & Albert Museum, for the years 1835 to 1842, 1844 and 1845 and 1847 to 1851; annotated transcripts of them are included in Alexandra Wedgwood's A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family, which is the fullest available source of biographical information about Pugin and which documents most of the facts of his career referred to in this paragraph and the next; information about Scarisbrick, for instance, can be found in a note on p.78.
3. Gwynn [D665] deals largely with Shrewsbury's patronage of Pugin.
4. Trappes-Lomax's life [D640] is the best account of Pugin's career as a Catholic.
5. The greatest sources of information about Pugin's connection with Hardman, his correspondence and the day-books recording the orders for Hardman's factory, remain in manuscript. No single study of the relationship has been published although discussions of various commissions and kinds of artifact can be found scattered through the literature; memorial brasses, for instance, are examined in Meara's book [D852].
6. The collaboration with Minton has not been thoroughly surveyed. Work for Crace is documented in the mostly unpublished letters, about 350 of them, which survive in the British Architectural Library in the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, and in the designs for Crace catalogued in Alexandra Wedgwood, op. cit.
7. The diaries of Benjamin Webb, a founding member of the society, are held by the Bodleian Library in Oxford; Webb notes that 'Pugin began a correspondence' on either 1 or 2 December 1841 [MS. Eng. misc. e 406: 1841, fol. 36v].
8. Pugin's diary for 1841 records a visit to Oxford from 19 to 22 February during which he met Newman and Mozley; see Wedgwood, op. cit., p.48.

9. Letter of 26 June 1851 preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum and printed in Wedgwood, op. cit., p.119.
10. About one thousand letters from Pugin to Hardman are preserved in a private collection; a microfilm copy of them is held by the House of Lords Record Office where they have the classification of Historical Collection no. 304/127. The undated letter quoted here is number 651.
11. Letter of 25 February 1838 preserved in the Laurence Hall Fowler collection at The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. The full title of the Orthodox journal is the London and Dublin orthodox journal of useful knowledge; for Pugin's contributions, see A11-A16 and A19-A21.

CHAPTER 5

1. HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 581; Pugin says that he shuns bookshops as steadfastly as 'a reformed drunkard avoids a gin shop.'
2. George Eliot, Middlemarch, ch.57. Norton Critical edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977), p.394.
3. Alexandra Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family, p.25; the notes are transcribed in full in this publication.
4. The Waverley novels by Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Library edition. Vol.12: Kenilworth (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900), p.[1].
5. J.H. Newman, Apologia pro vita sua, Norton Critical edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), p.84.
6. The Waverley novels by Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Library edition. Vol.9: Ivanhoe (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900).
7. The Waverley novels by Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Library edition. Vol.22: Fair maid of Perth (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900).
8. John Sturrock quotes and discusses Hugo's review of Scott's novel in his introduction to his translation, Notre-Dame of Paris (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1978).
9. Edited by M.-F. Guyard (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1961).
10. Sturrock, op. cit., p.10.
11. See letters to Hardman, all undated except perhaps one, HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 162, 379, 495

[April 1851?] and 905 for the references to Micawber, 938 for Vanity fair and 645 for Pendennis.

12. Notre-Dame de Paris 1482, ed. Guyard, p.161.
13. William Cobbett, A history of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland (London: Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company, n.d.), p.72.
14. William Cobbett, Rural rides, Penguin English Library (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), p.230.
15. Kenelm Henry Digby, The broad stone of honour: or, The true sense and practice of chivalry. 5 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1876-77.
16. Wedgwood, op. cit., p.37.
17. It has not been possible to trace a copy of this work.
18. Robert Southey, Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the progress and prospects of society. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1829.
19. It has not been possible to trace a copy of this work.

CHAPTER 6

1. The first citation for 'mediaevalist' in the OED is dated 1874 but the word was in use at least a quarter of a century earlier; it appears, for instance, in the heading 'Ancient use of architectural forms in domestic furniture: a hint to mediaevalists,' Rambler [1] (29 January 1848): 87.
2. Past and present, Bk 3, ch. 2 (Everyman ed., pp.143-44).
3. Bk 4, ch.4 (Everyman ed., p.264).
4. Bk 2, ch.15 (Everyman ed., p.112).
5. Grace J. Calder, The making of 'Past and present: a study of Carlyle's manuscripts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), pp.31-32.
6. Past and present, Bk 4, ch.1 (Everyman ed., p.235).
7. HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 422; the letter is undated.

CHAPTER 7

1. Selected poems of Thomas Hood, ed. John Clubbe

- (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p.25.
2. The title of the first chapter of Chartism, published in 1840.
 3. Sartor resartus (first published in Fraser's magazine in 1833 and 1834), Bk 2, ch.3 (Everyman ed., p.90).
 4. Bk 2, ch.9 (Everyman ed., p.145).
 5. J.H. Newman, The idea of a university; the relevant lectures printed under this title were delivered in 1852.
 6. J. Hillis Miller, The disappearance of God: five nineteenth-century writers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).
 7. 'The scholar-gipsy,' l.204.
 8. 'Memorial verses,' ll.43-44.
 9. The idea of a university, ed. I.T. Ker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p.12.
 10. 'Signs of the times,' Edinburgh review 49 (June 1829): 439-59; and 'Characteristics,' Edinburgh review 54 (December 1831): 351-83.
 11. On liberty, Norton Critical edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), p.35.
 12. Past and present, passim.
 13. 'Traffic' in The crown of wild olive. The works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen). Library edition: vol.18 (1905), p.448.
 14. 'Of kings' treasures' in Sesame and lilies. Library edition: vol.18 (1905), p.85.
 15. The seven lamps of architecture. Library edition: vol.8 (1903), p.159.
 16. Elizabeth Gaskell, Mary Barton (1848), ch.1 (Penguin ed., p.45).
 17. William Morris, A dream of John Ball (first published in Commonweal in 1886 and 1887), ch.4. The collected works of William Morris (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1912), vol.16: p.230.
 18. 'Bentham,' published in the London and Westminster review in August 1838; 'Coleridge,' in the same periodical in March 1840. Reprinted in Mill on

Bentham and Coleridge, ed. F.R. Leavis (London: Chatto & Windus, 1950), the words quoted here falling on p.40.

19. Mill on Bentham and Coleridge, pp.102-3.
20. J.H. Powell, 'Pugin in his home,' p.20. A typescript of this memoir, written by Pugin's son-in-law in 1889, is held by the Victoria & Albert Museum and a manuscript version is preserved in the Westminster Diocesan Archives.
21. 'Sir Walter Scott,' first published in the London and Westminster review, no.12 (1838). Reprinted in Scottish and other miscellanies (London: J.M. Dent, 1915), the quoted words falling on p.78.
22. See a letter to Lord Shrewsbury to be dated 5 January 1841 and printed in Alexandra Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family, pp.103-4.
23. HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 672; the letter is undated.
24. However attractive it may have been to contemporaries, later architectural theorists, for example, D.J. Watkin [D805], have taken exception to the moral dimension Pugin thus gives to architecture.
25. Past and present, Bk 4, ch.3 (Everyman ed., p.259).
26. The full title of Disraeli's novel is Sybil: or, The two nations.
27. Autobiography (1873), World's classics edition (1924), p.140.
28. John Holloway, The Victorian sage (London: Macmillan and Co., 1953).

CONCLUSION

1. Besides the diaries, Pugin's letters to Hardman contain probably the fullest record of the progress of this building; in one undated letter, for instance, he writes: 'The best thing this Easter, I have got the first piece of the Cloisters finished & it is really delightful, it puts one back 500 years--you have no idea how old it looks. all stone, no plaster' [HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 84].
2. Much information about these items is contained in Pugin's correspondence with Hardman; the following letter written one 'Sunday evening' but otherwise undated and probably belonging to late 1846 demonstrates his attention to such matters:

'My Dear Hardman,

I am rather better tonight. the Bishop has given permission to Mr Costigan [the priest at Margate] to duplicate every Sunday so we have a sort of congregation in my small chapel. I must hurry everything as much as possible with the little church and several things occur to me.

1. I send you the [design for the] iron work for 2 poor boxes, which are indispensable. I think you will understand it, it is very plain. let me have it as soon as you can, tinned. the words (for the poor) better be painted in black.
2. a Large offertory basin. also a pair of common glass cruets [sic].
3. a shell for Baptism.
4. a crismatory [sic].
5. let me know what the Rev. Mr Moore [the priest in charge of St Chad's cathedral] has to attend the sick. if I remember right it was in a leather case, very respectable.
6. we ought to have a pyx, for the communion of the sick, something very solid & good, not thin & poor.
7. have we got anthing [sic] for salt[?] for Baptism?
8. I should like St Augustins [sic] mark [here Pugin makes a sketch of the mark] to be engraved on all the things as they will be inserted in an inventory attached to the deed of gift [see note 7 to this chapter].
- 10 [sic]. do not forget the processional candlesticks.
11. I am sending back the 2 high standing candlesticks to be repaired; pray let me have them for Xmas.

I want at any rate to start them all right & begin well, nothing like beginning well. I must have some more vestments, I shall send my old crosses to have them mounted. now pray think of all my things, do not neglect them, you see I am very anxious about this mission.

do you not think it would answer to make a lamp of this kind [Pugin draws another sketch] in brass or white metal? I fear this place is too damp yet to put in a plated or gilt one. can you lend me a brass one--and a pulley & cord--for the present till I have the real ones made? I shall want 4 eventually if I live. the Blessed Sacrament will be left sometimes for 2 or 3 hours & there should be a lamp then.

Mr Moore had an excellent French Ritual at Birmingham, he offered to give it to me but I will willingly buy it--or give the money to the church. it had excellent expositions. if he will let me have it & the Binding wants repairing let Nicholls [sic; a bookseller in Birmingham who advertised bindings designed by Pugin; see B20] do it. I inclose 2 books with the Candlesticks, that I want Nicholls to bind for me as plain as possible but strong with red edges.

it is too bad to give you all this trouble when

there are so many things to do, but what can I do? I am a prisoner ... & I am very anxious to get all right here.

do not forget the tabernacle.

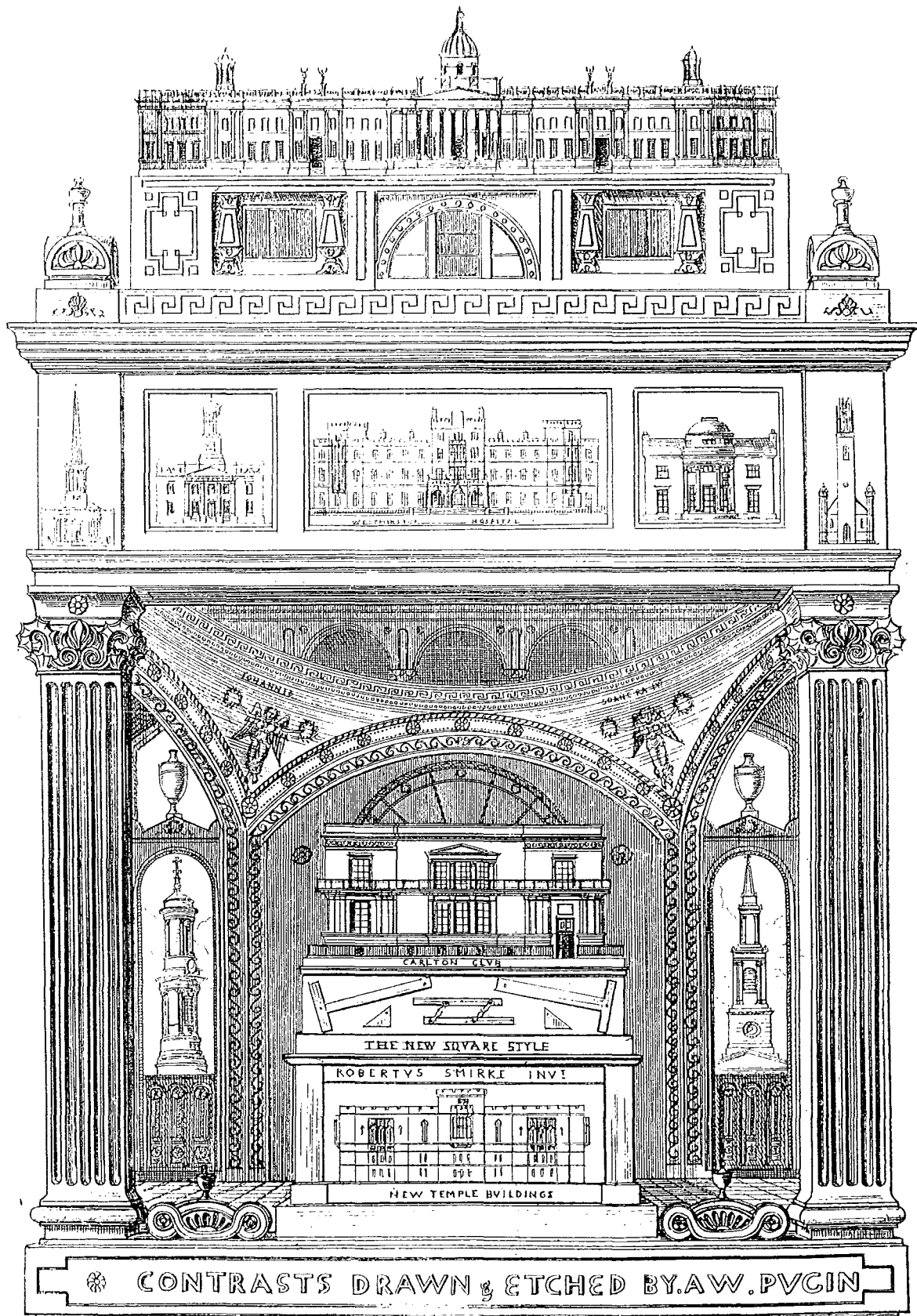
ever, dear Hardman,
your devoted friend,
+ A Welby Pugin'

[HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 438].

3. In a letter of 1844 to Crace, Pugin writes: 'I send you 4 inscriptions I want done on Paper strips that I may paste them up on my bookcases' [MS PUG 1/22/1]; in demonstration, he sketches the first three letters of one inscription, 'Beatus homo qui invenit Sapientiam,' with measurements and colours indicated, across the top of the page.
4. In an undated letter to Hardman Pugin asks his friend to look out for a new 'school mistress for us for we have nobody now Miss Bridge is gone & no one to succeed her' [HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 118]; this must be the 'Bad Miss Bridge' who was 'paid and left' on 30 December 1851 as Pugin records in his diary in an entry (p.72) which Alexandra Wedgwood does not annotate.
5. See a letter to Wiseman preserved in the Westminster Diocesan Archives, with the reference W3/43: 7; it bears no date but internal evidence suggests that it was perhaps written early in the summer of 1848.
6. In an undated letter to Hardman Pugin writes: 'I must have a hospital here--about 6 beds would do, but it is dreadful to see these poor people from disabled & wrecked ships literally [sic] perished with want & cold' [HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 65]; see also D433, p.179.
7. In a letter with a postmark of 23 November 1846 for receipt, Pugin tells Hardman that 'The Deed of Gift of St Augustine was executed on Thursday, signed, sealed & delivered' [HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 21]; see also D266.
8. HLRO Historical Collection no. 304/127: 477; the letter is undated but internal evidence indicates that it was written on 15 March 1851. The words quoted here are printed in Stanton [D758, p.194] as if they formed a complete sentence, whereas they are in fact only part of one; and despite the appearance of continuity the remainder of the quotation which they are made to introduce in Stanton's book is not to be found in this letter of Pugin's but derives instead largely from letter 697.

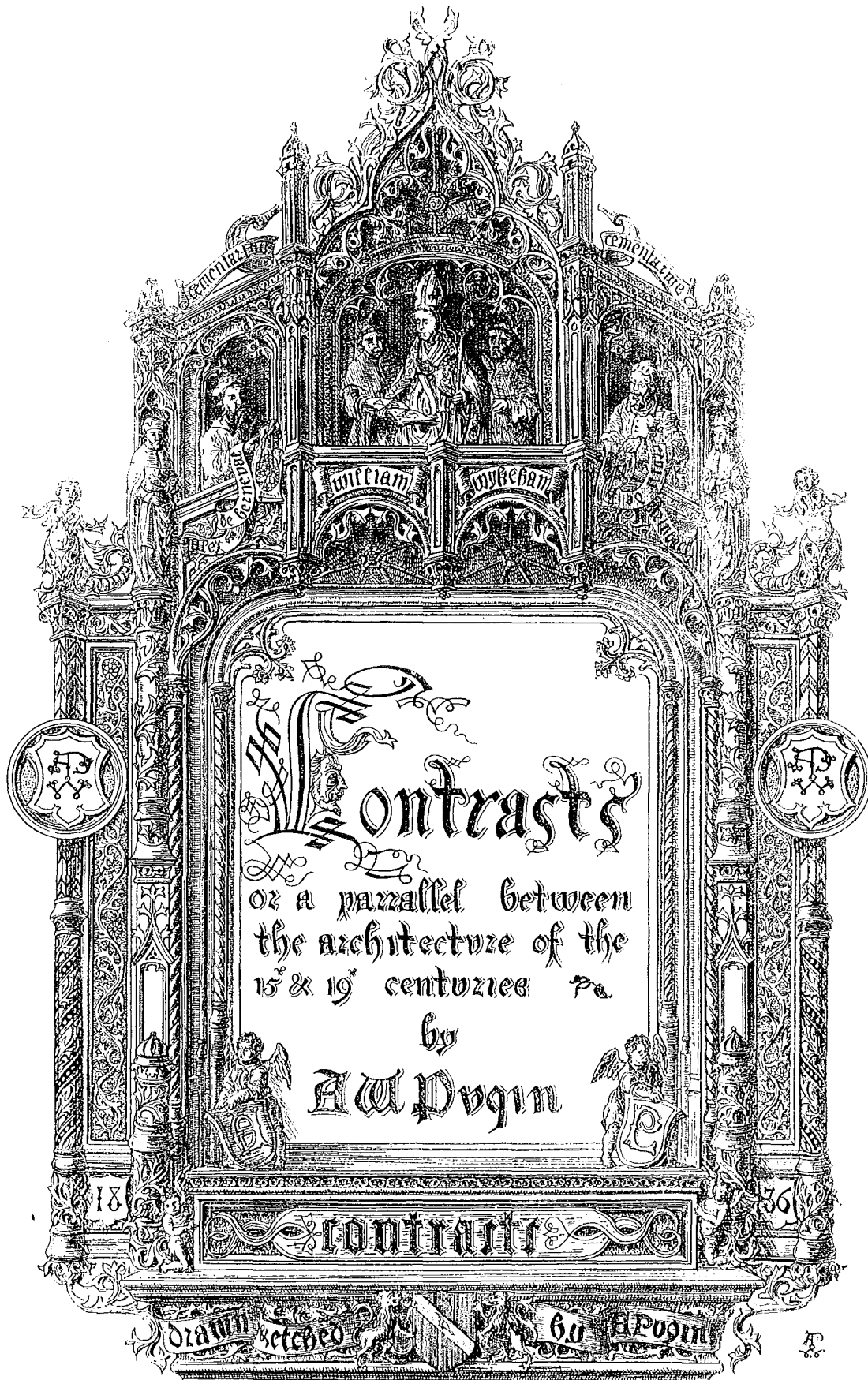
ILLUSTRATIONS

The copies that follow reproduce all the plates of the first edition of Contrasts and three of those added for the second, namely, 'Contrasted episcopal monuments,' the illustration of contrasted towns and 'Contrasted residences for the poor.'



SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF VARIOUS CELEBRATED BRITISH
ARCHITECTS






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IN PROPORTION

A CHVRCH TO CONTAIN 8000 SITTINGS
GOTHIC OR ELISABETHAN
ESTIMATE MVST NOT EXCEED £1500. AND STYLE PLAIN

EACH CANDIDATE
MVST SEND
4. ELEVATIONS 3 SECTIONS
PLANS AND 3 PERSPECTIVE
VIEWS.


ELEGANT TERMINATIONS CHEAP

DESIGNING TAUGHT IN 6 LESSONS
GOTHIC SEVERE GREEK
AND THE
MIXED STYLES
ON WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY EVENINGS
FROM 6 to 8 O'CLOCK

READY MADE BALVSTRADES ALL SIZES

TEMPLE OF TASTE, AND ARCHITECTVRAL REPOSITORY

DESIGNS WANTED.

A MOORISH
MARKET
WITH A LITERARY ROOM
OVER

AN EGYPTIAN MARINE
VILLA

A CASTELATED
TYRNPIKE GATE
A GIN TEMPLE

IN THE BAROQUE STYLE

A DISSIDENTING CHAPEL
IN A PLAIN STYLE

TO SERVE OCCASIONALLY
FOR A LECTURE OR READING
ROOM

A MONUMENT
TO BE PLACED IN
WESTMINSTER ABBEY
A COLOSSAL FIGURE IN
THE HINDOO STYLE
WOULD BE PREFERRED
AND NO REGARD NEED
BE PAID TO LOCALITY

A SAXON
GIGABE DIVAN

COMPO FRONTS FORWARDED TO ALL PARTS of the KINGDOM
BY STEAM CONVEYANCE ON THE SHORTEST NOTICE

PLACES AND SITUATIONS.

ANYONE MAN
MVST SERVE AS ARCHITECT
OR ASSISTANT PARTNER
WHO CAN GIVE HIM A FAV. MIND

AN ERRAND BOY
FOR AN OFFICE WHO CAN
DESIGN OCCASIONALLY

ANYONE MAN
WHO UNDERSTANDS SVR-
VEYING WOULD BE LIKE TO
GO FOR A YEAR INTO AN
OFFICE TO LEARN THE
FAST PART
OF THE ARCHITECTURAL BUSINESS

AN ARCHITECT
HAS A VACANCY IN HIS
OFFICE FOR A PUPIL
TALENT OF NO CONSEQUENCE
PREMIUM REQUIRED

WANTED
ANYONE TO BRICK OFF
DESIGNS
IN AN EMINENT OFFICE
A PERSON TO BE SHOWN
FORGETTING FOR
CONSIDERABLE REWARDS

CAST IRON
TRACERY CAPS
GOTHIC VERANDA
IVDOR RAILINGS
AND
NORMAN GOTHIC
GARDEN SEATS
FOR SALE AT
REDUCED PRICES
ALL
NEW PATTERNS

DESIGNS PREPARED ESTIMATES AND SUPERINTENDANCE
AT 1 1/2 PER CENT !!!

MECHANICS INSTITUTE A LECTURE

ON ANTIQUE BABYLONIAN
GREEK ROMAN AND GOTHIC
ARCHITECTURE
BY MR WASH PLASTERER
the gates out day work in moderate
terms

ARCHITECTVRAL OFFICE

ATTENDANCE
FROM 10 till 4
EVERY DAY
AND
ON SUNDAYS
AT THE
CHVRCH

A LARGE QUANTITY OF GOTHIC CORNICES MVST DRESSED OVT FROM 6^d PER YARD

BUILDINGS OF EVERY
DESCRIPTION
ALTERED INTO
GOTHIC OR GREEK
ON
MODERATE TERMS
TERRACE FRONTS DESIGNED



SHORTLY WILL BE PUBLISHED
ARCHITECTURE MADE EASY
OR
EVERY MAN HIS OWN ARCHITECT
BY WHICH

GENTLEMEN AMATEURS
MAY EASILY ACQUIRE EVERY
INFORMATION RESPECTING
DESIGN AND PRACTICE
JUST PUBLISHED
THE DESIGNERS BECKONER
BY WHICH
THE ORNAMENTS AND STYLE
OF CHVRCHES
MAY BE REGULATED FROM
2 POUNDS PER SITTING

A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF
SELECTED DESIGNS
SELLING CONSIDERABLY UNDER PRIME COST

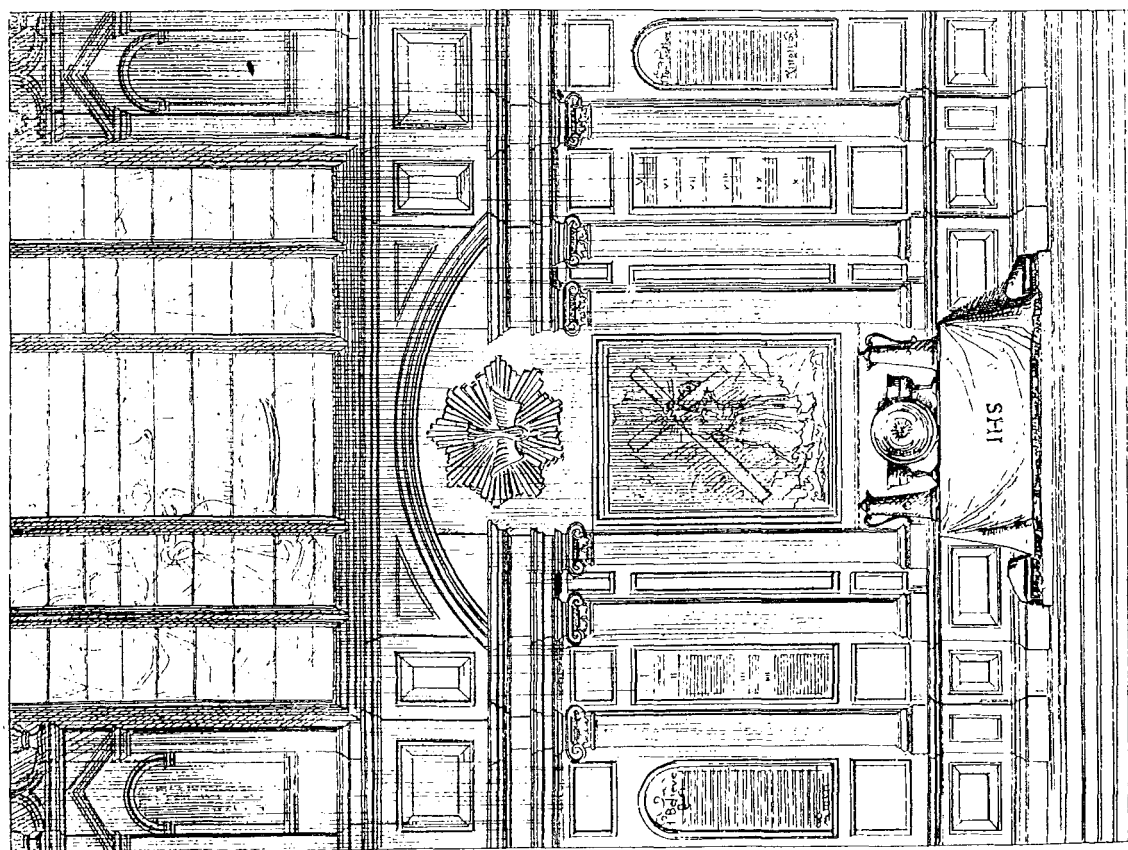
MECHANICS INSTITUTE A LECTURE

ON A NEW DESIGNING MACHINE
CAPABLE OF MAKING
1000 CHANGES WITH THE SAME
SET OF ORNAMENTS
BY A COMPOSITION MAKER

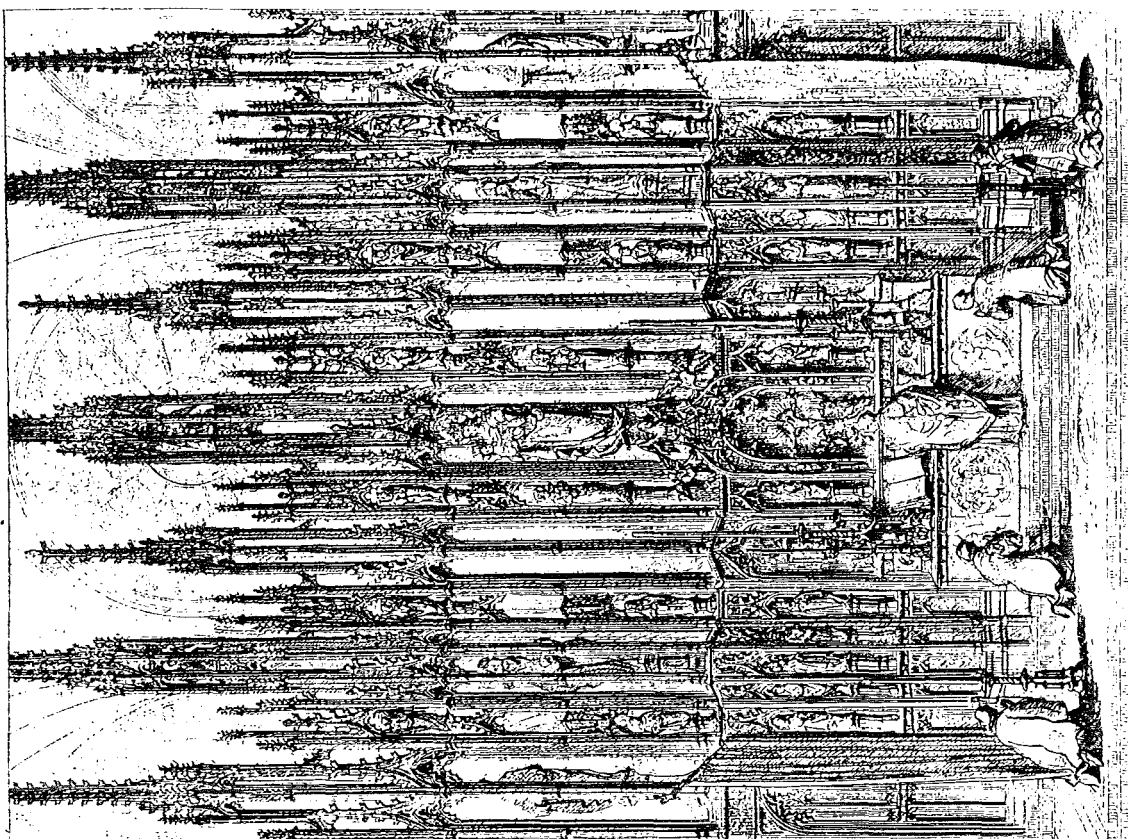
HOUSE OF CALL FOR STVDENTS

2^d HAND
DESIGNS BOUGHT
AND BEST
PRICE
ALLOWED
FOR
WASTE PAPER

THIS ILLUSTRATION
OF THE PRACTISE OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE 19 CENTURY ON NEW IMPROVED AND CHEAP PRINCIPLES
IS DEDICATED WITHOUT PERMISSION TO
THE TRADE



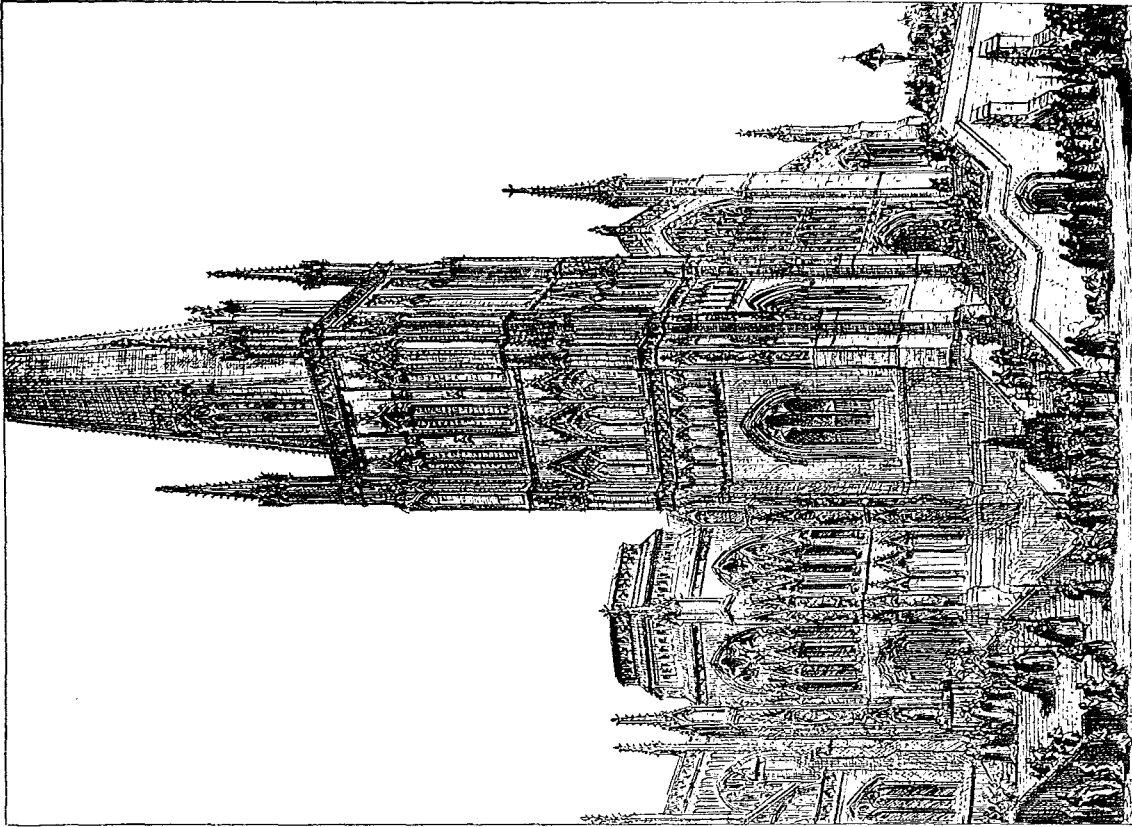
HEREFORD CATHEDRAL 1830



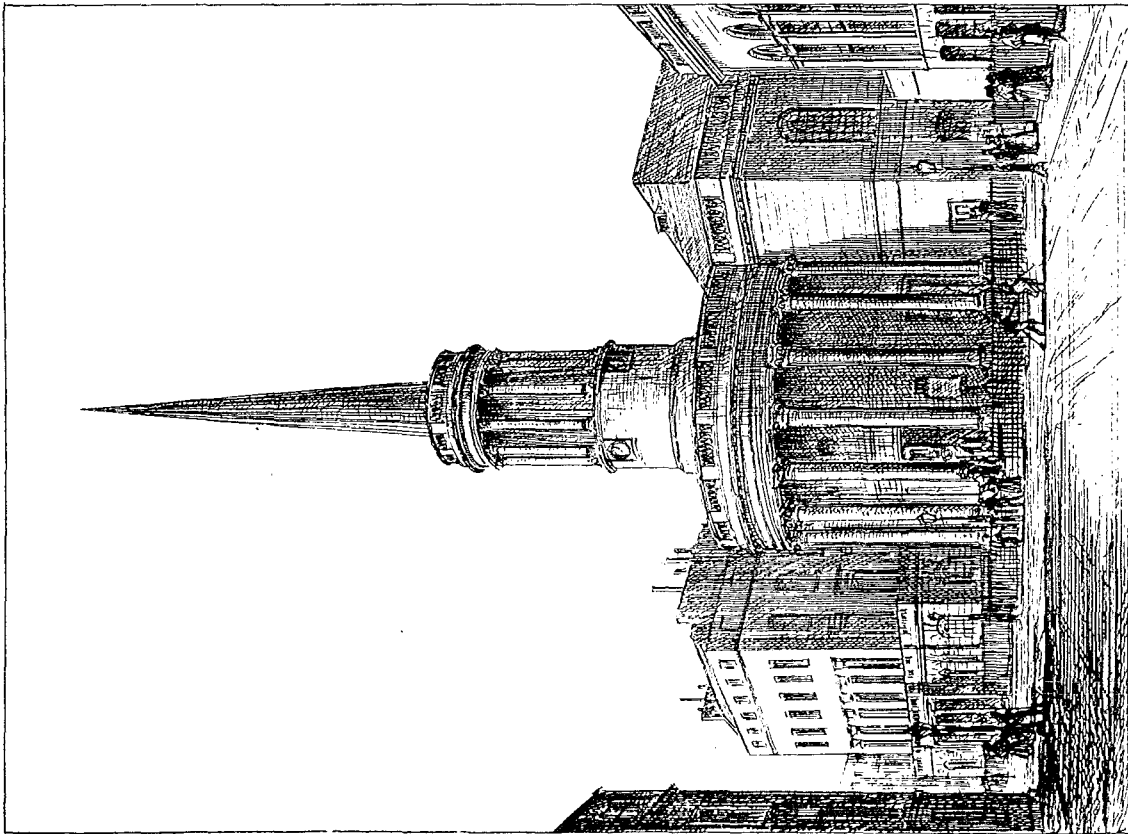
DURHAM ABBEY 1430

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ALTAR SCREENS





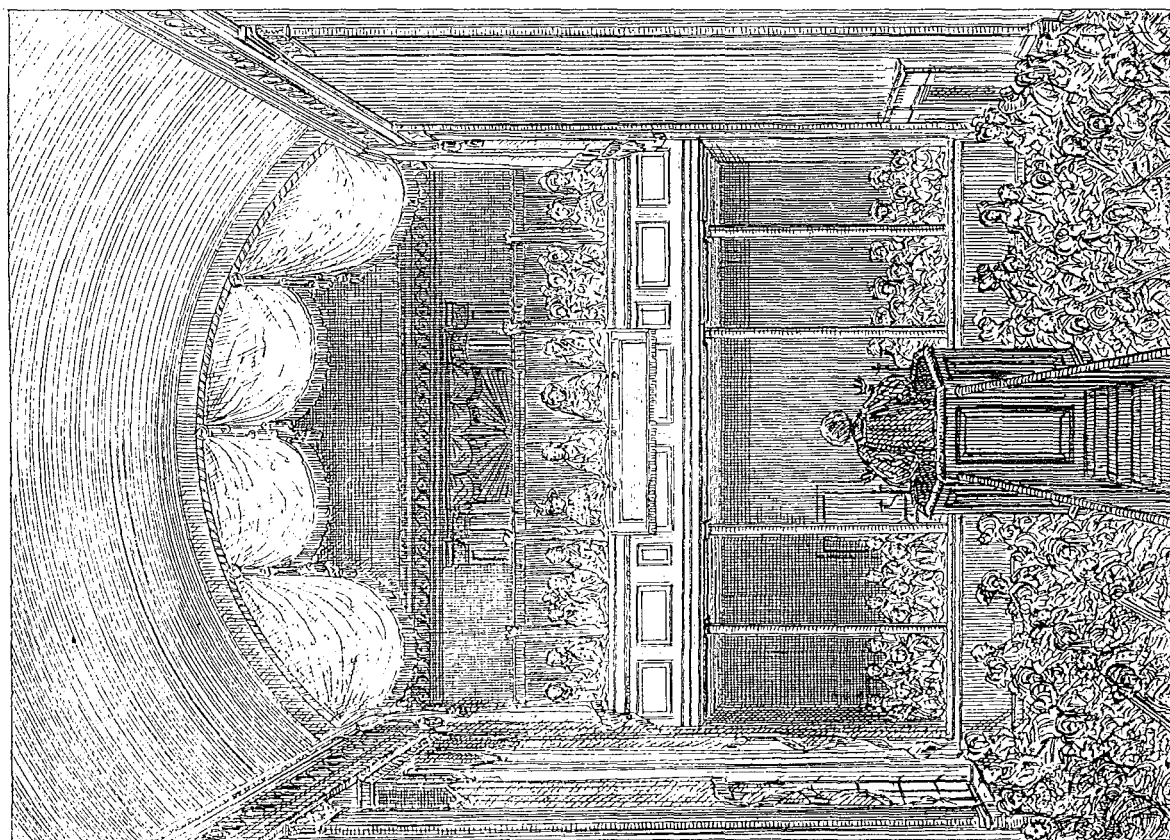
REDCLIFFE CHURCH BRISTOL



ALLSOVILS CHURCH LANGHAM PLACE
JOHN NASH ESQ ARCHT

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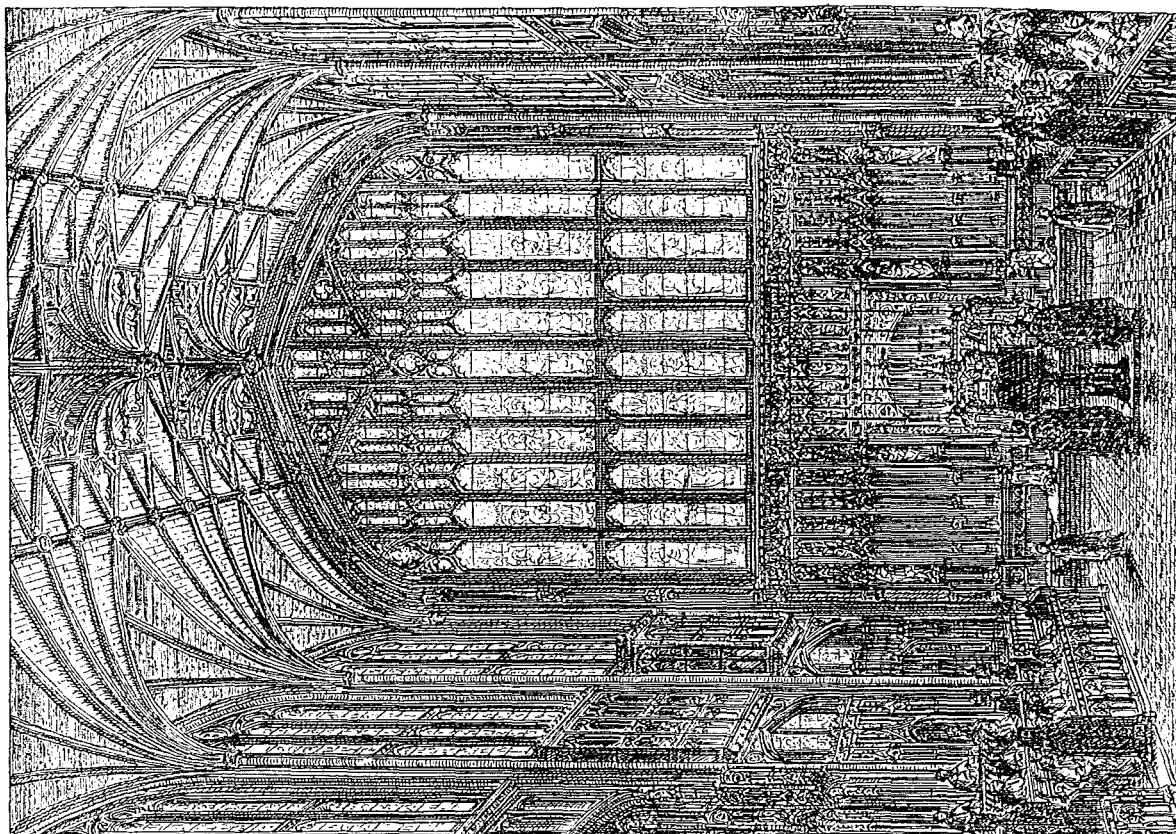
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CHAPEL ROYAL BRIGHTON

CONTRASTED ROYAL CHAPELS

22



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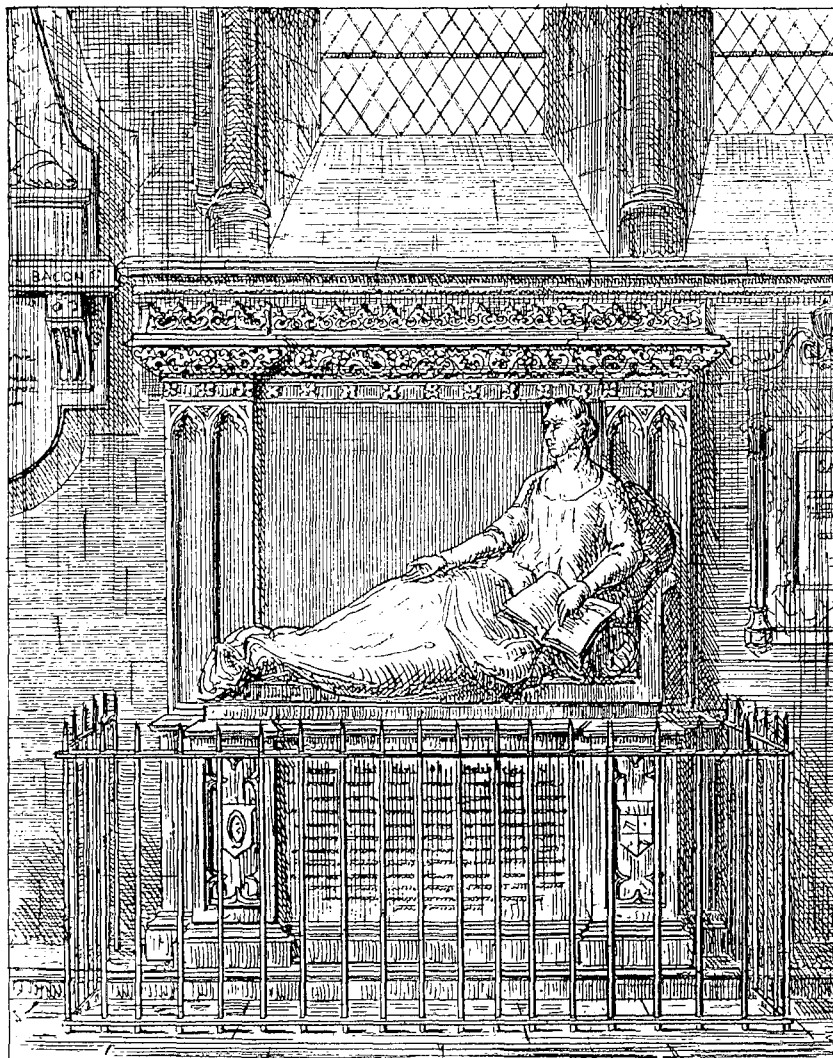
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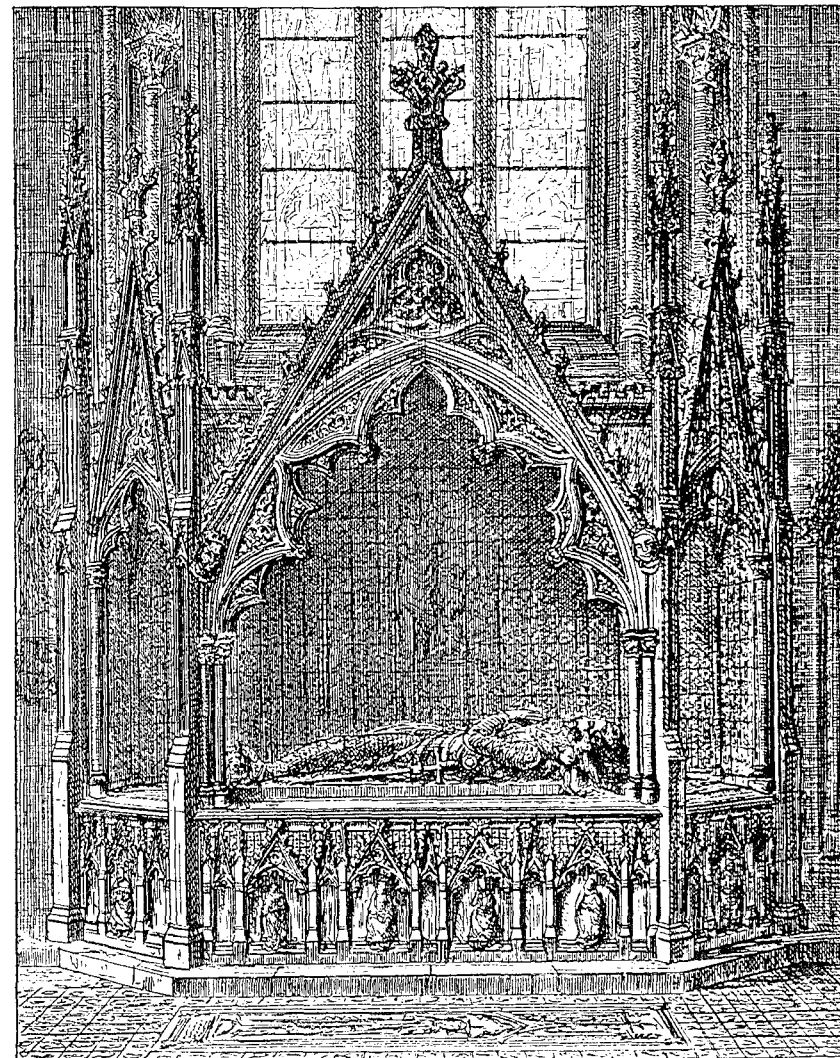
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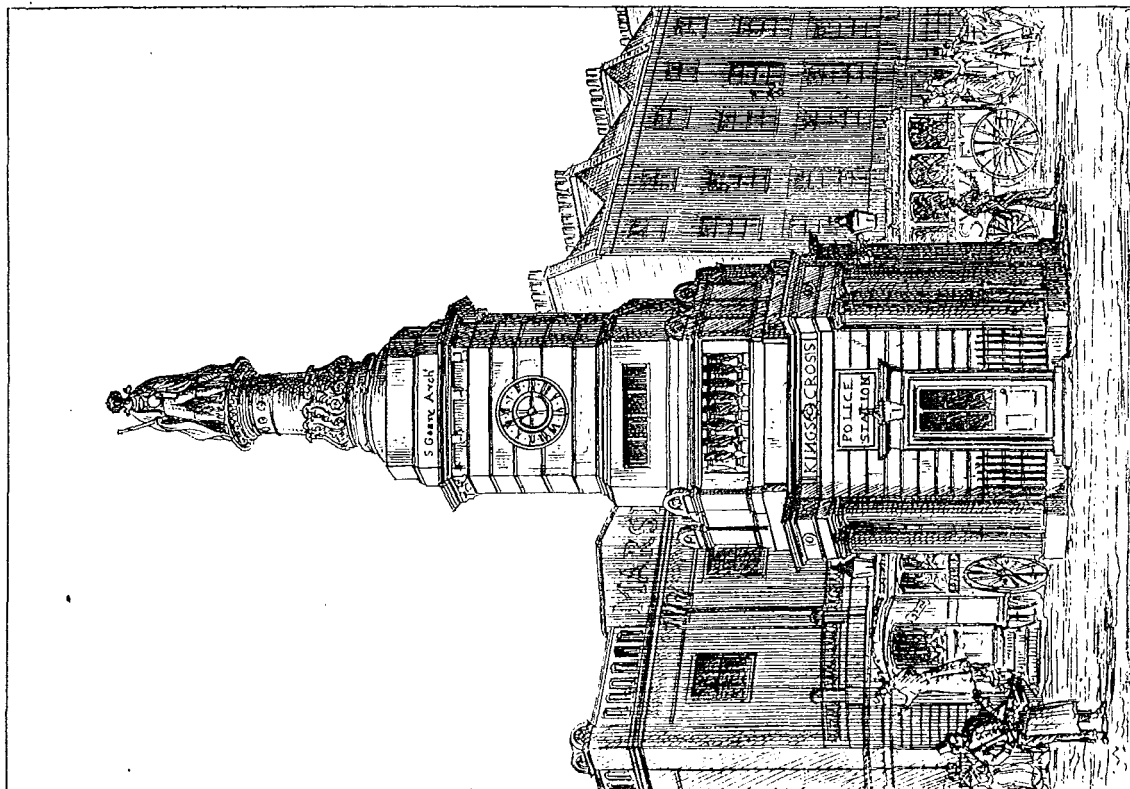


EARL OF MALMSBURY.
SALISBURY CATH.
Chantrey 1823 Engr. of foot



ADMIRAL GERVASE ALARDE
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CONTRASTED SEPTICHRAL MONYMENTS.

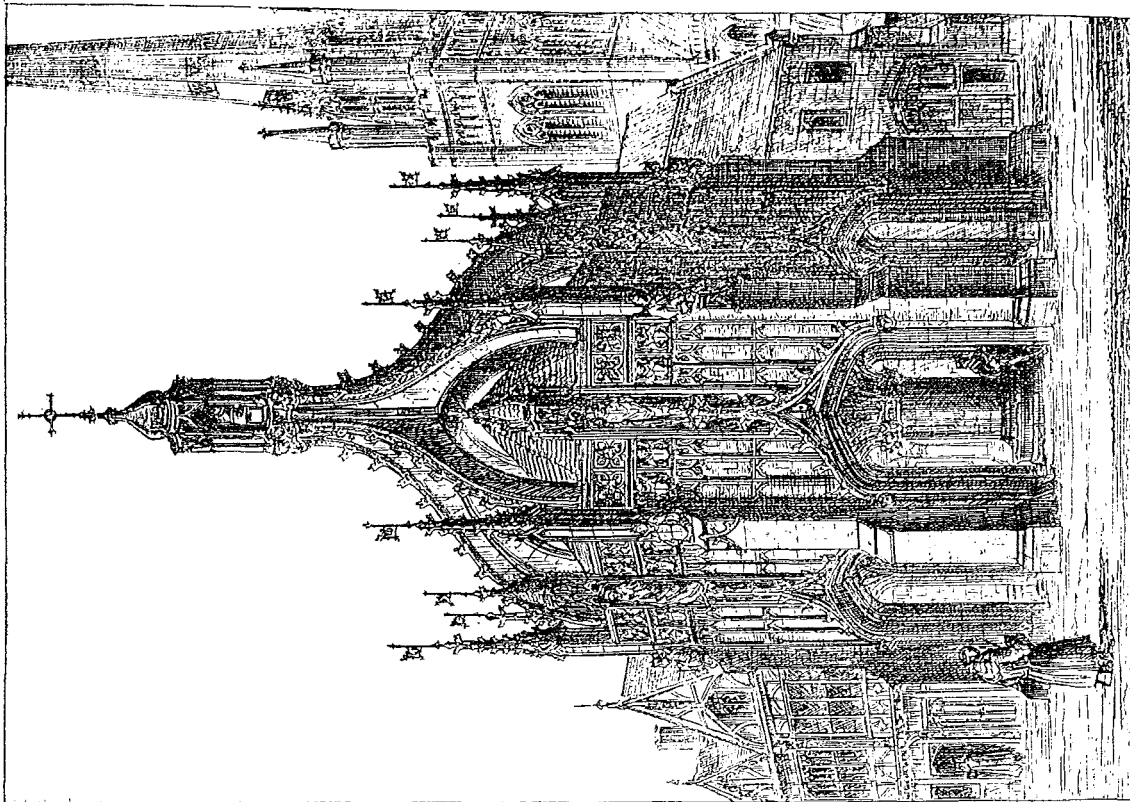
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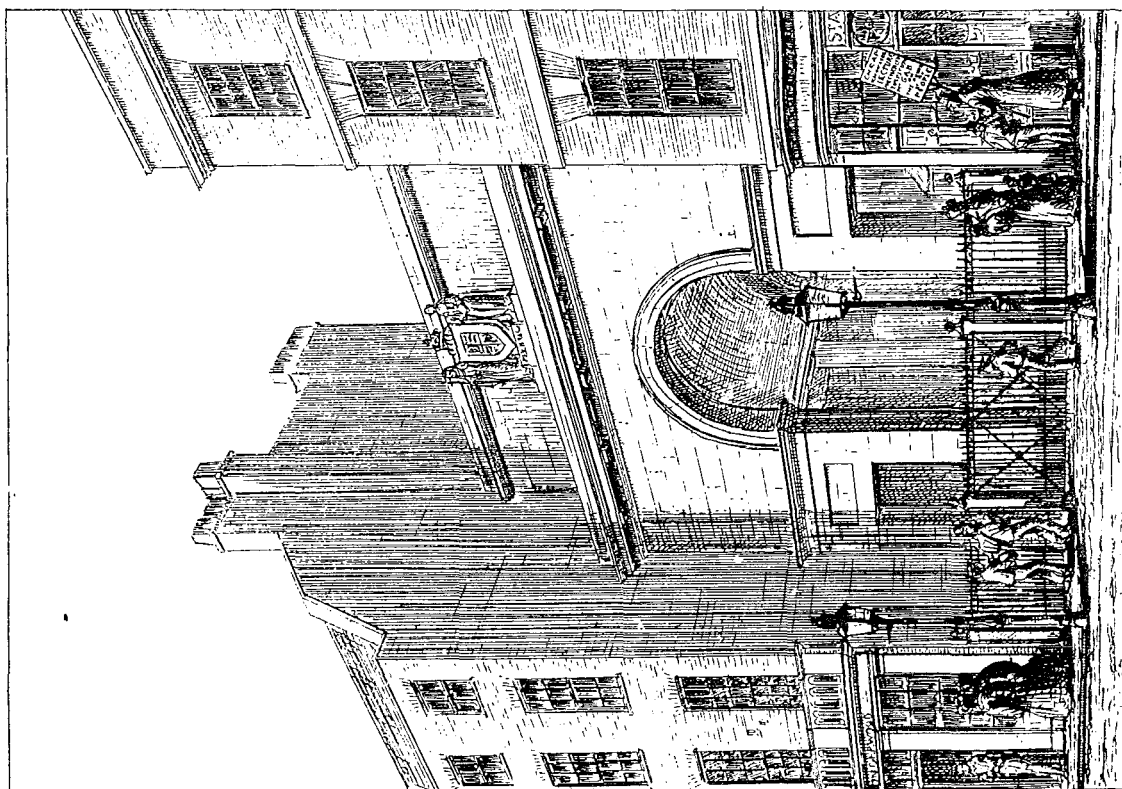
KINGS CROSS BATTLE BRIDGE

S. GARY ARCH

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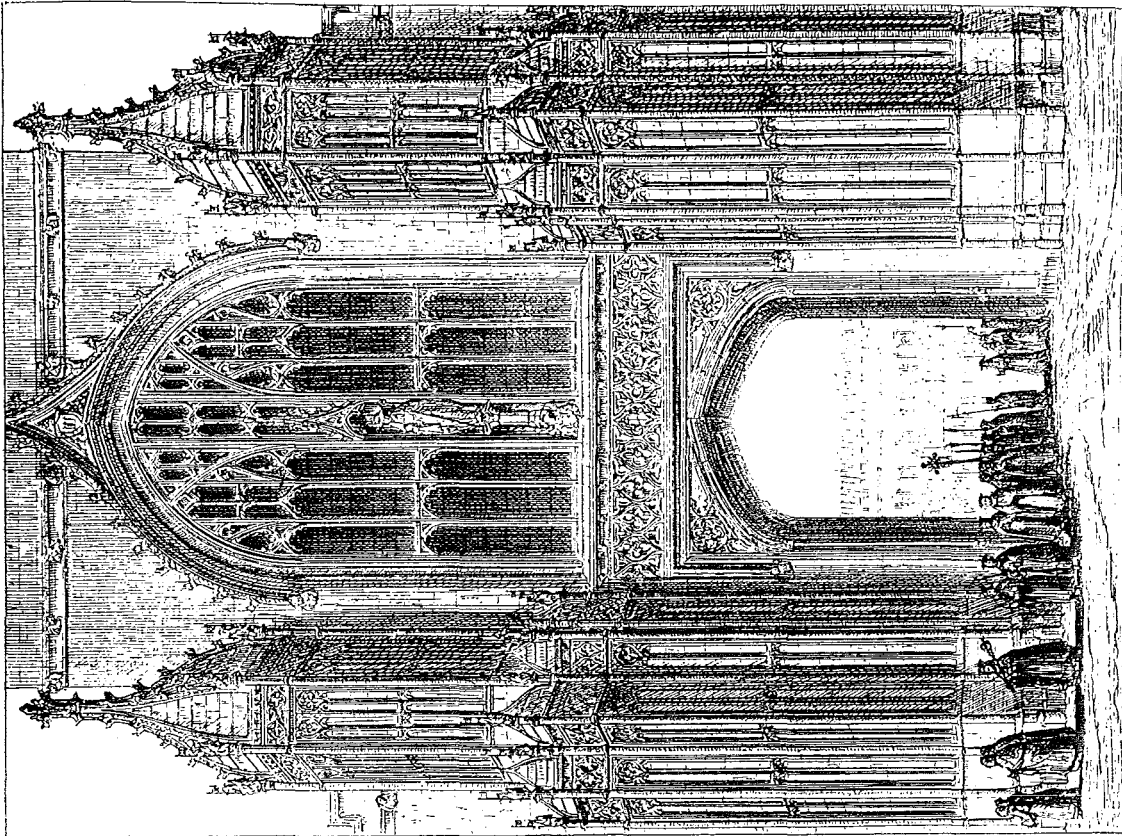
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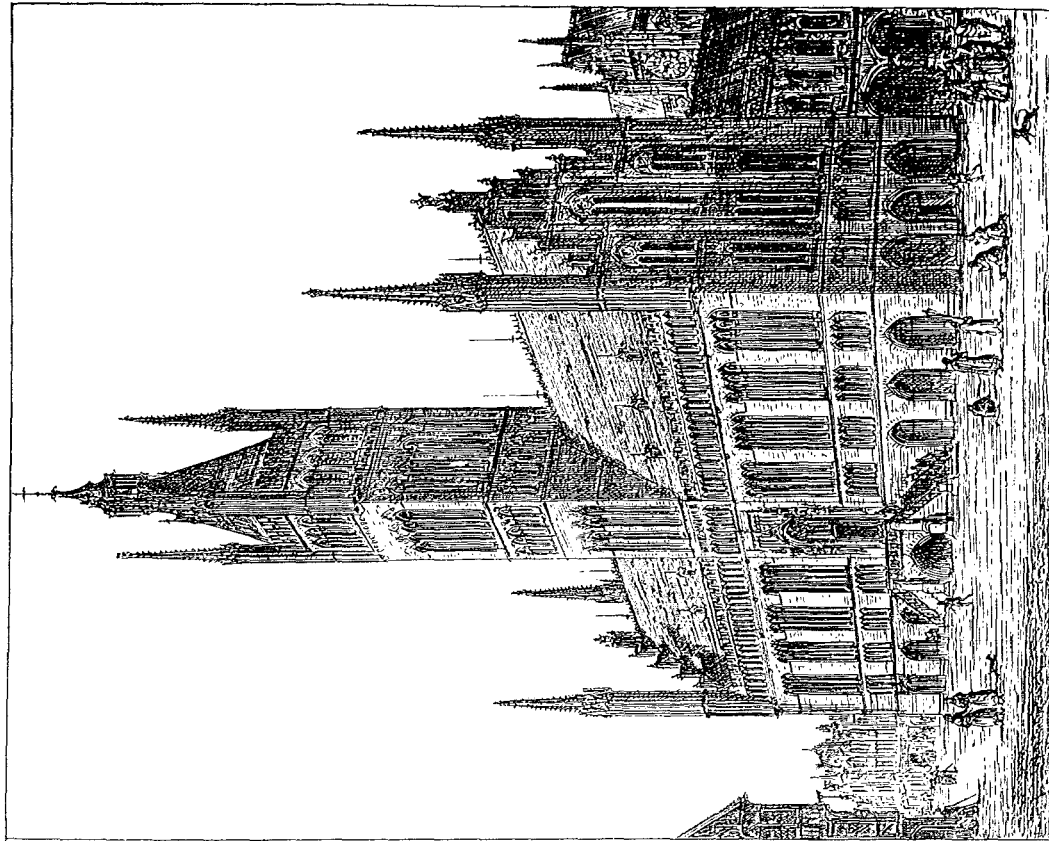
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42



CHRIST'S COLLEGE OXFORD

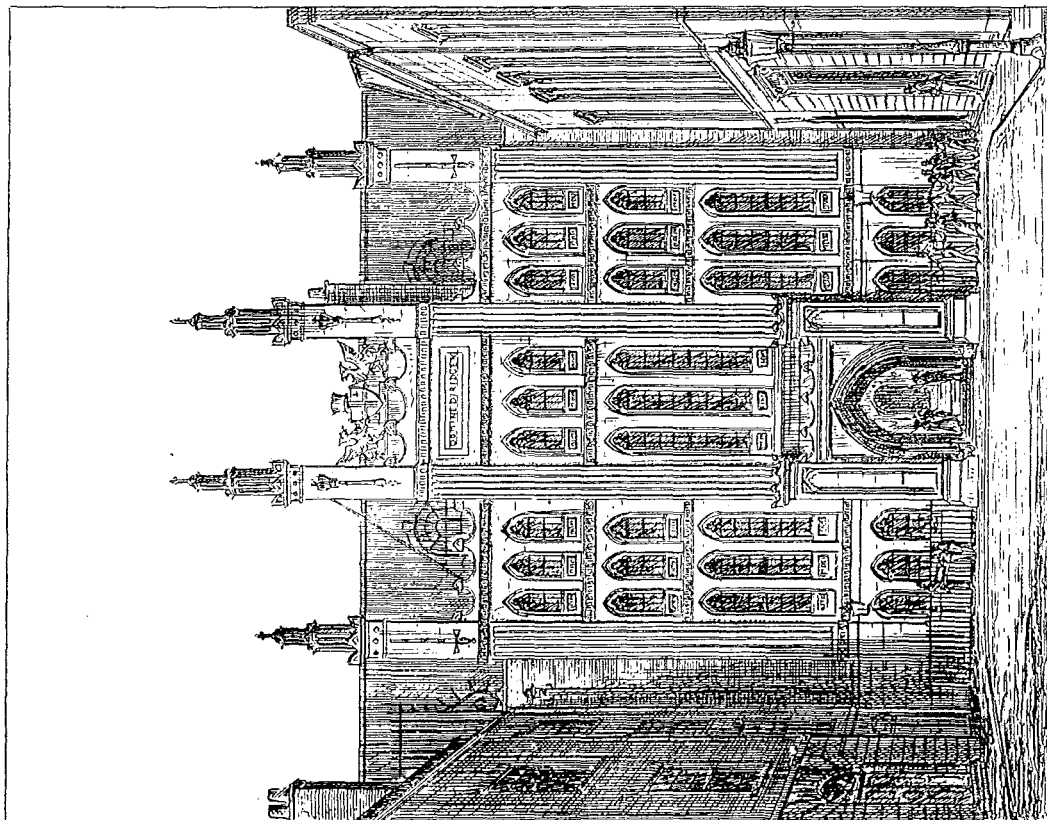
GATEWAYS



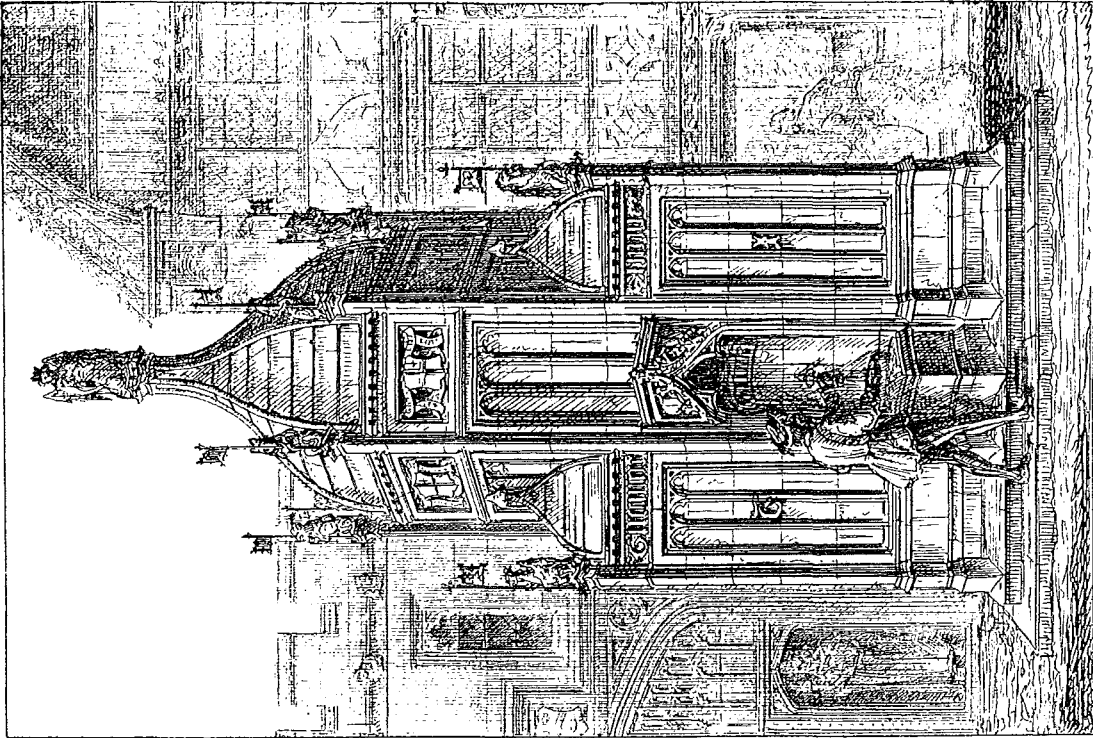
HOTEL DE VILLE

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TOWN HALLS

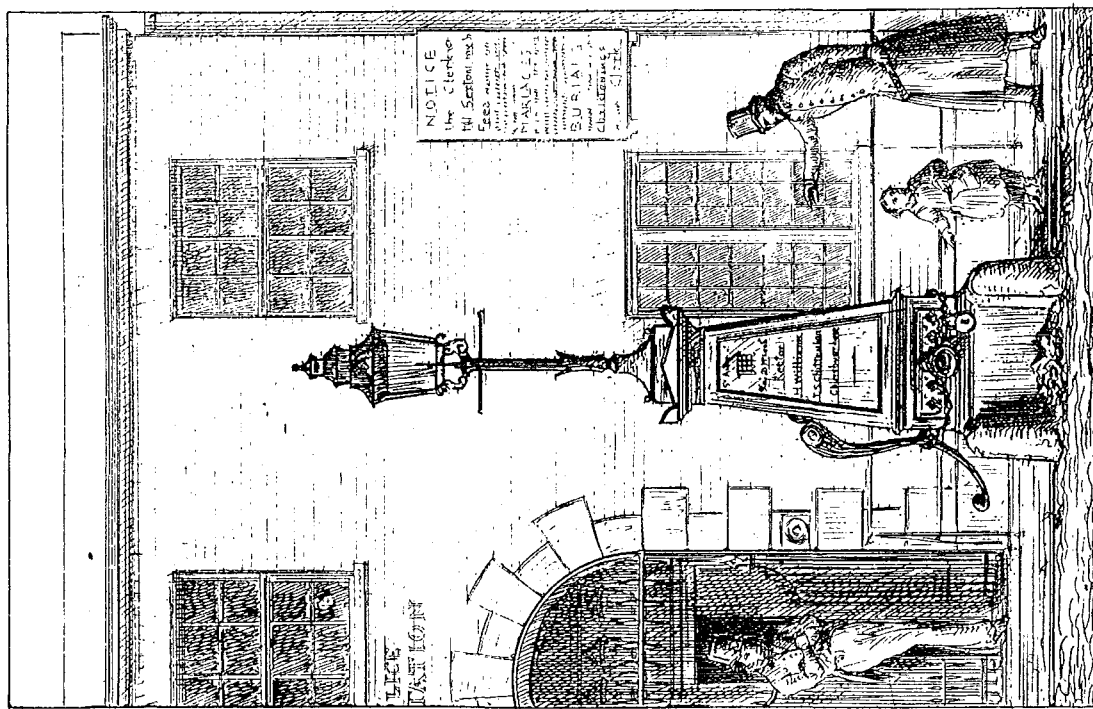
48



GUILDHALL LONDON
George Dance Esq. archit.



WEST CHEAP CONVOY
THOMAS ILLAM 1479



ST ANNES SOHO

CONTRASTED
PUBLIC CONVOYS

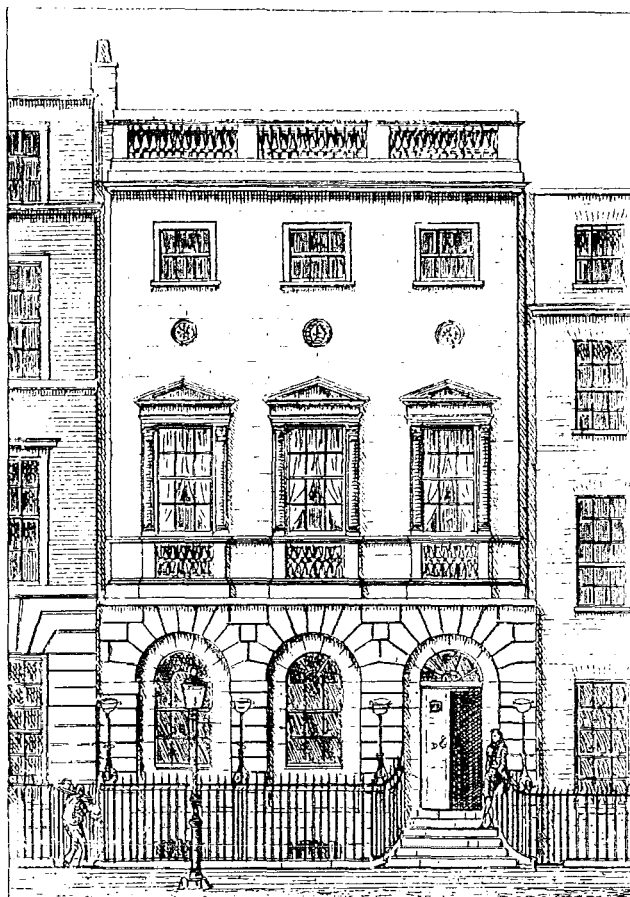


REFERENCES TO THE NEW HOUSE.



- AA. THE NURSERY WINDOWS
- B. AN ILL SHAPED MITER
- CC. THE DRAWING ROOM
- D. THE STREET DOOR
- EE. THE PARLOUR
- F. THE WAY DOWN THE AREA

THIS HOUSE HAS BEEN BUILT WITH DUE REGARD TO THE MODERN STYLE OF EPISCOPAL ESTABLISHMENTS. ALL USELESS BUILDINGS, SUCH AS CHAPEL HALL OR LIBRARY HAVE BEEN OMITTED, AND THE WHOLE IS ON A SCALE TO COMBINE ECONOMY WITH ELEGANCE !!!



ELY HOUSE DOVER STREET

1830



CONTRASTED EPISCOPAL RESIDENCES

References to the Old Palace +



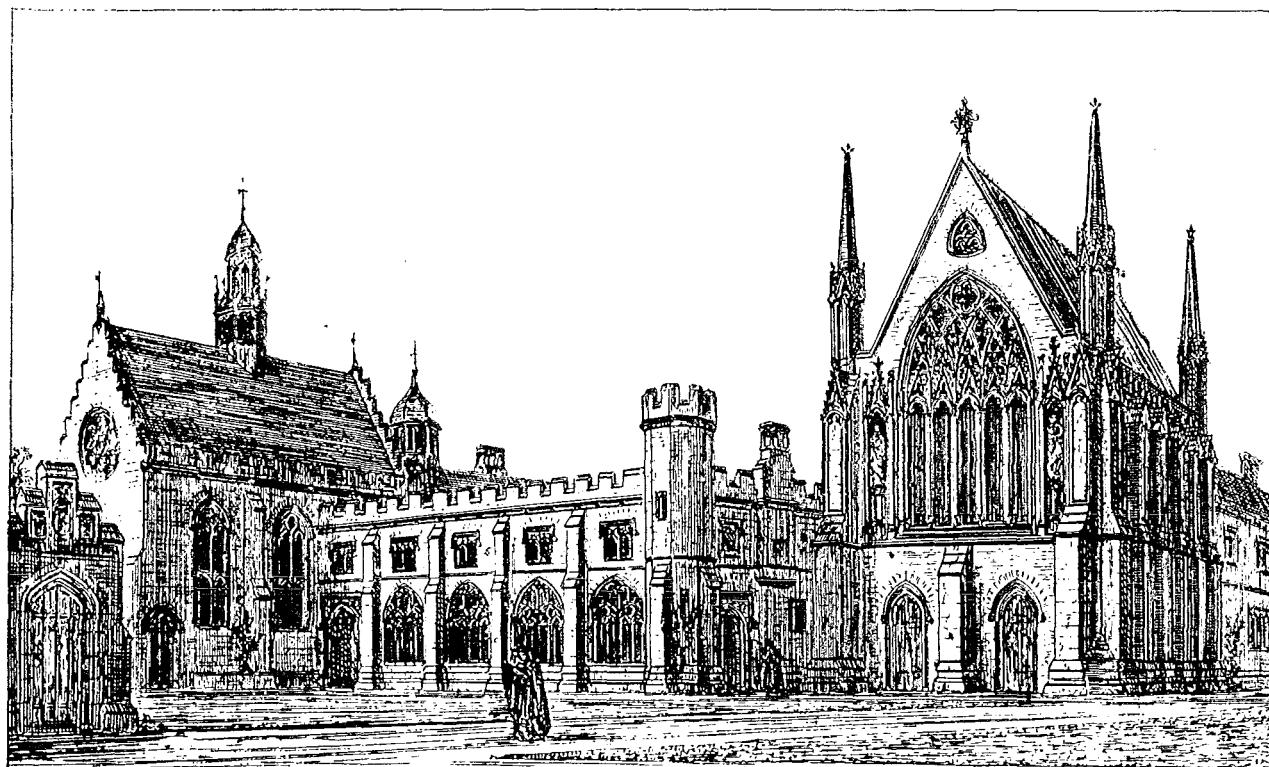
- a S' Etheldreda's chapel
- b Part of the library
- c The east cloister
- d Lodgings for guests
- e The great hall

THIS VENERABLE PALACE WAS SOLD TO THAT EMINENT SURVEYOR C. COLE WHO UTTERLY DESTROYED IT AND ON ITS SITE ERECTED THE PRESENT HANDSOME AND UNIFORM STREET WITH

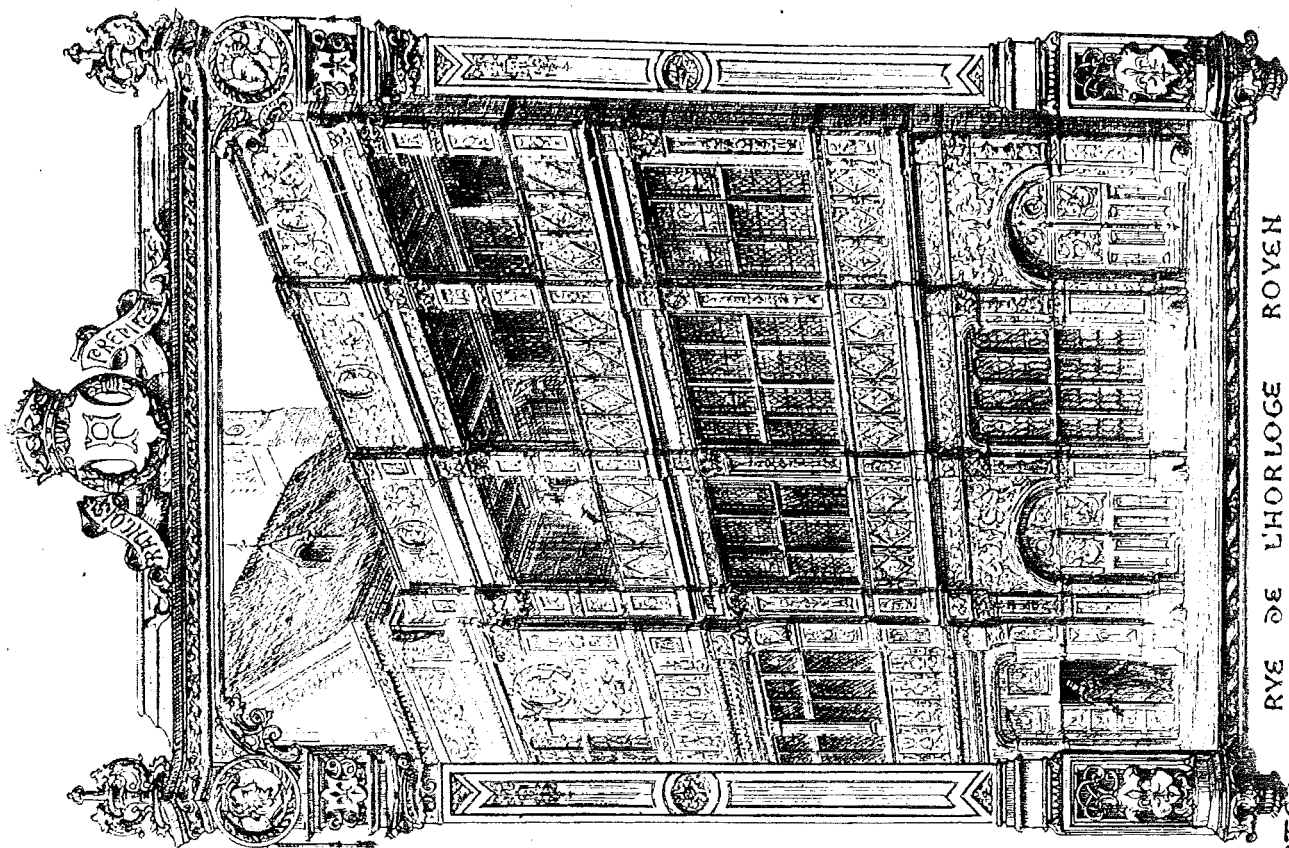
ITS NEAT AND APPROPRIATE

IRON GATES IN 1776.

+ *braglegs londoniana*

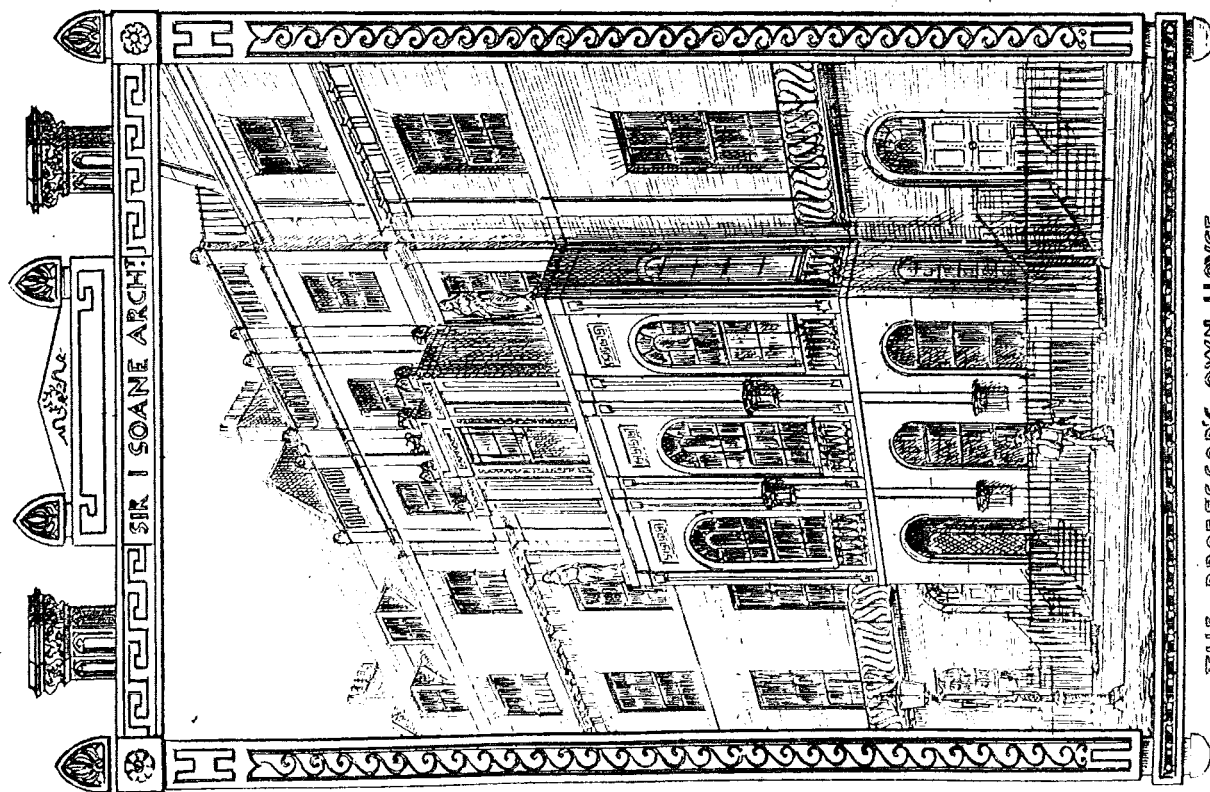


ELY PALACE HOLBORN 1536.

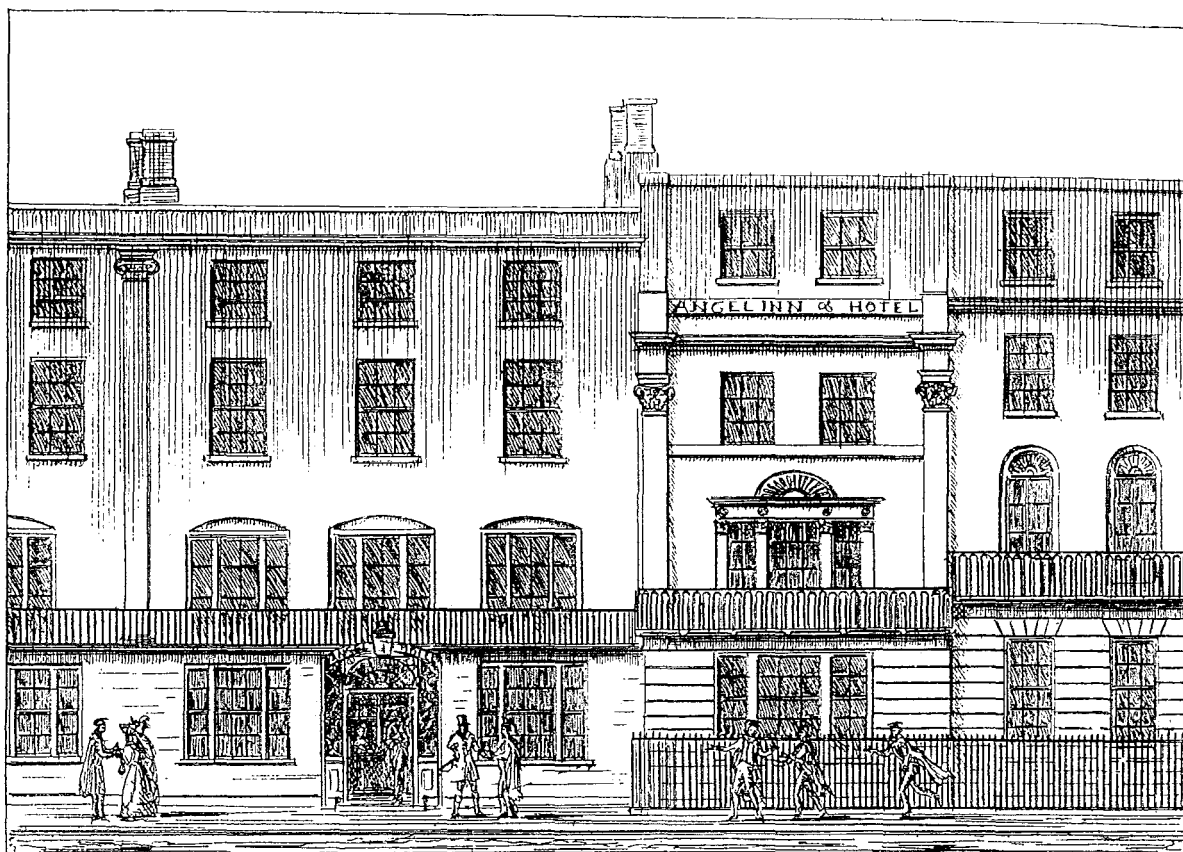


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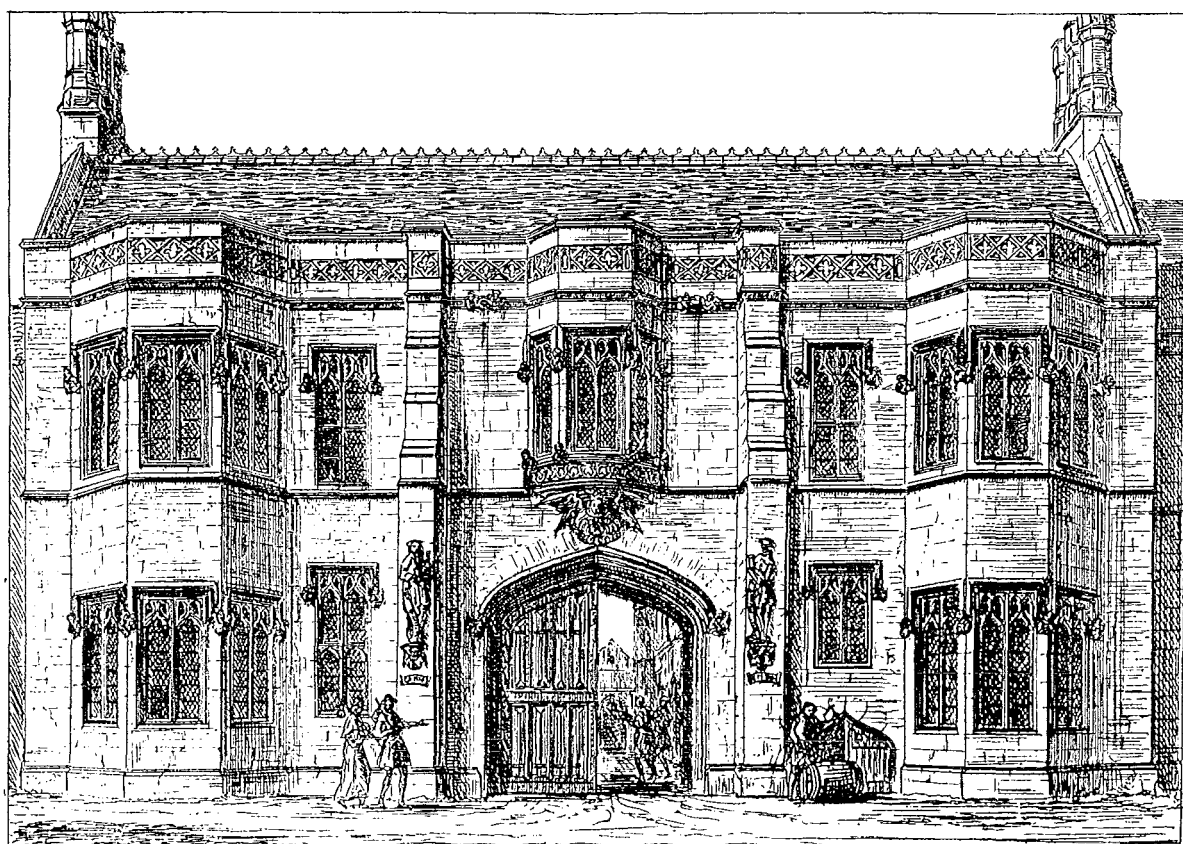
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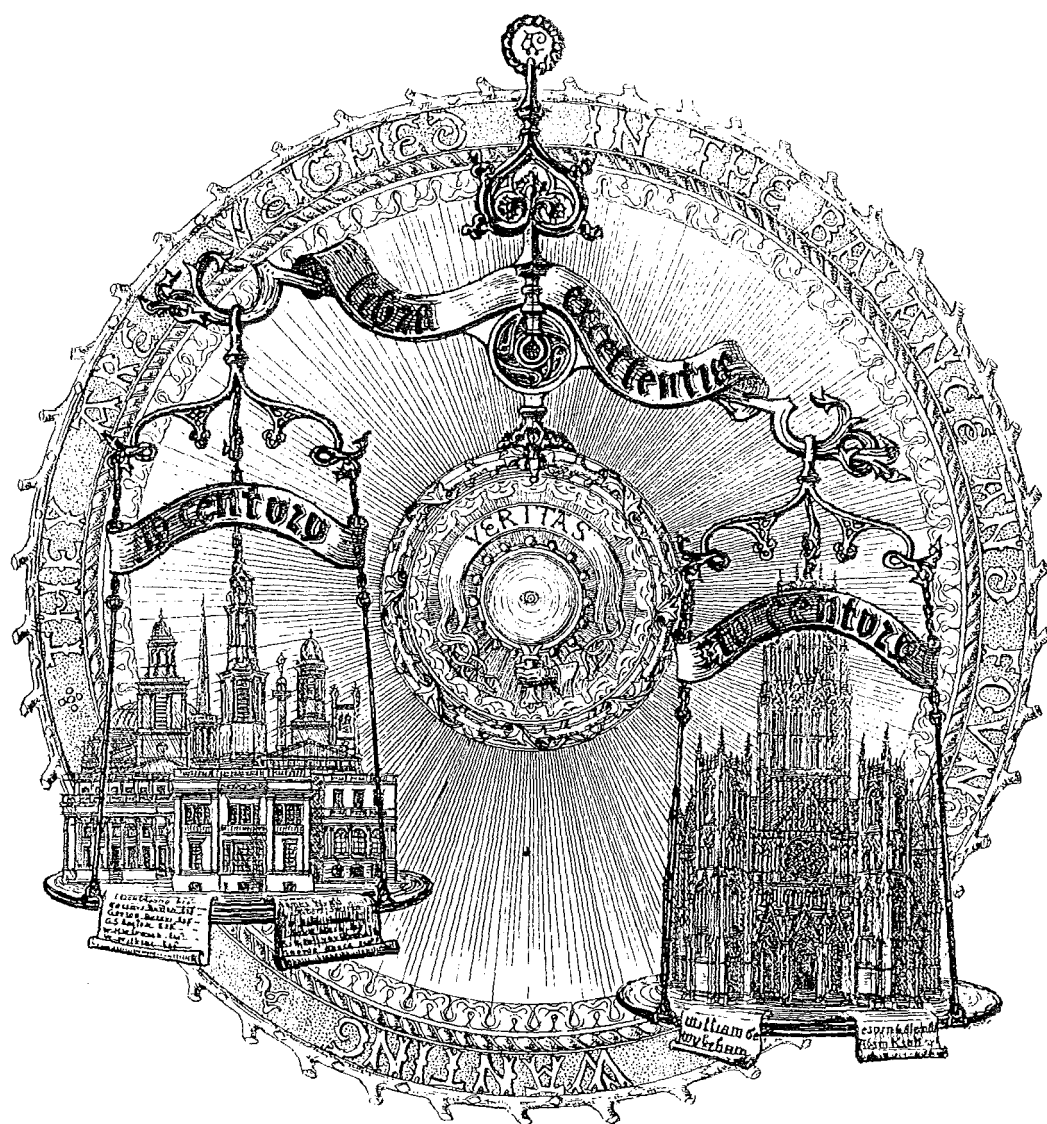
THE PROFESSOR'S OWN HOUSE



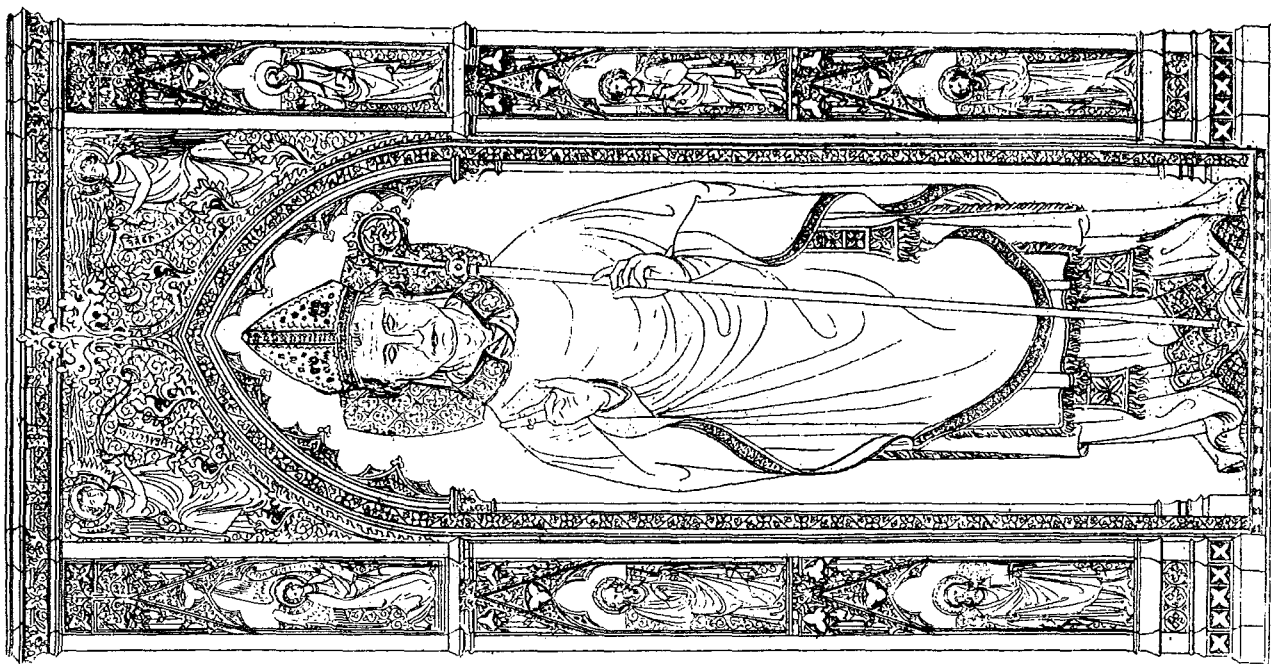
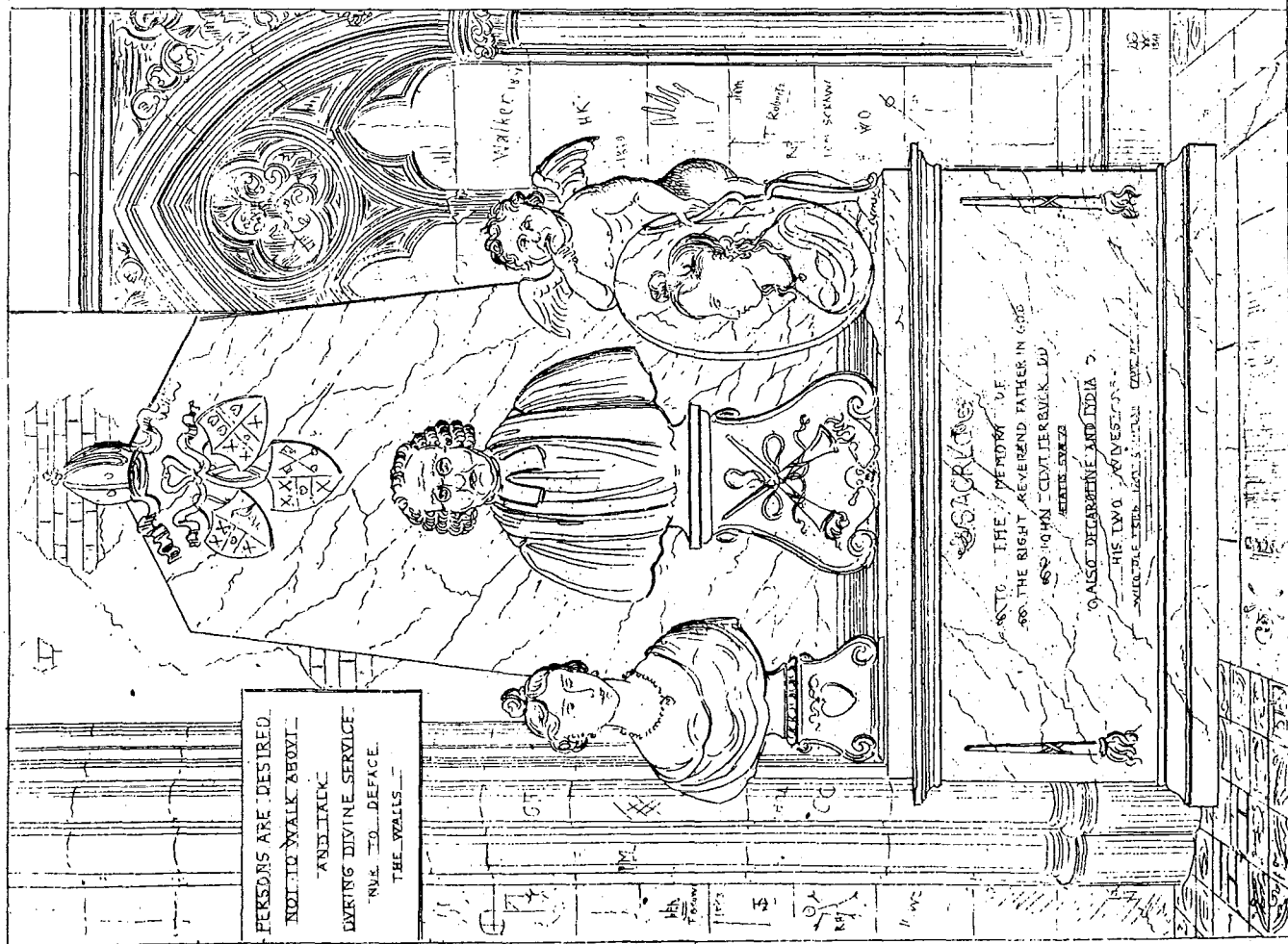
ANGEL INN OXFORD

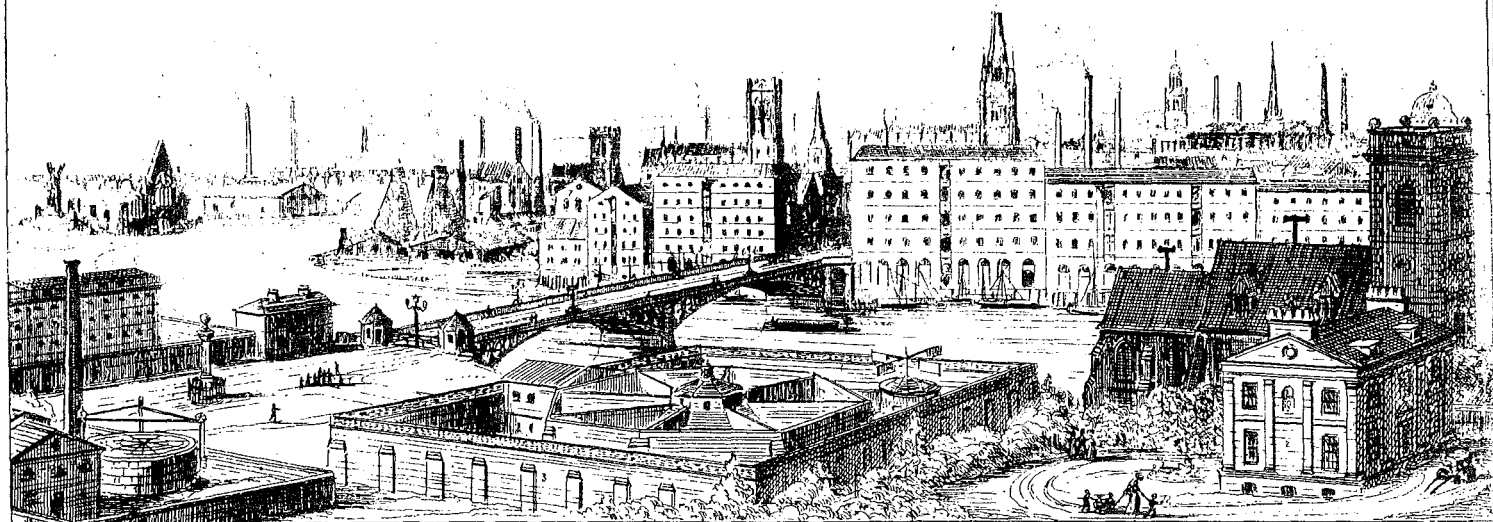


ANGEL INN GRANTHAM
CONTRASTED PUBLIC INNS



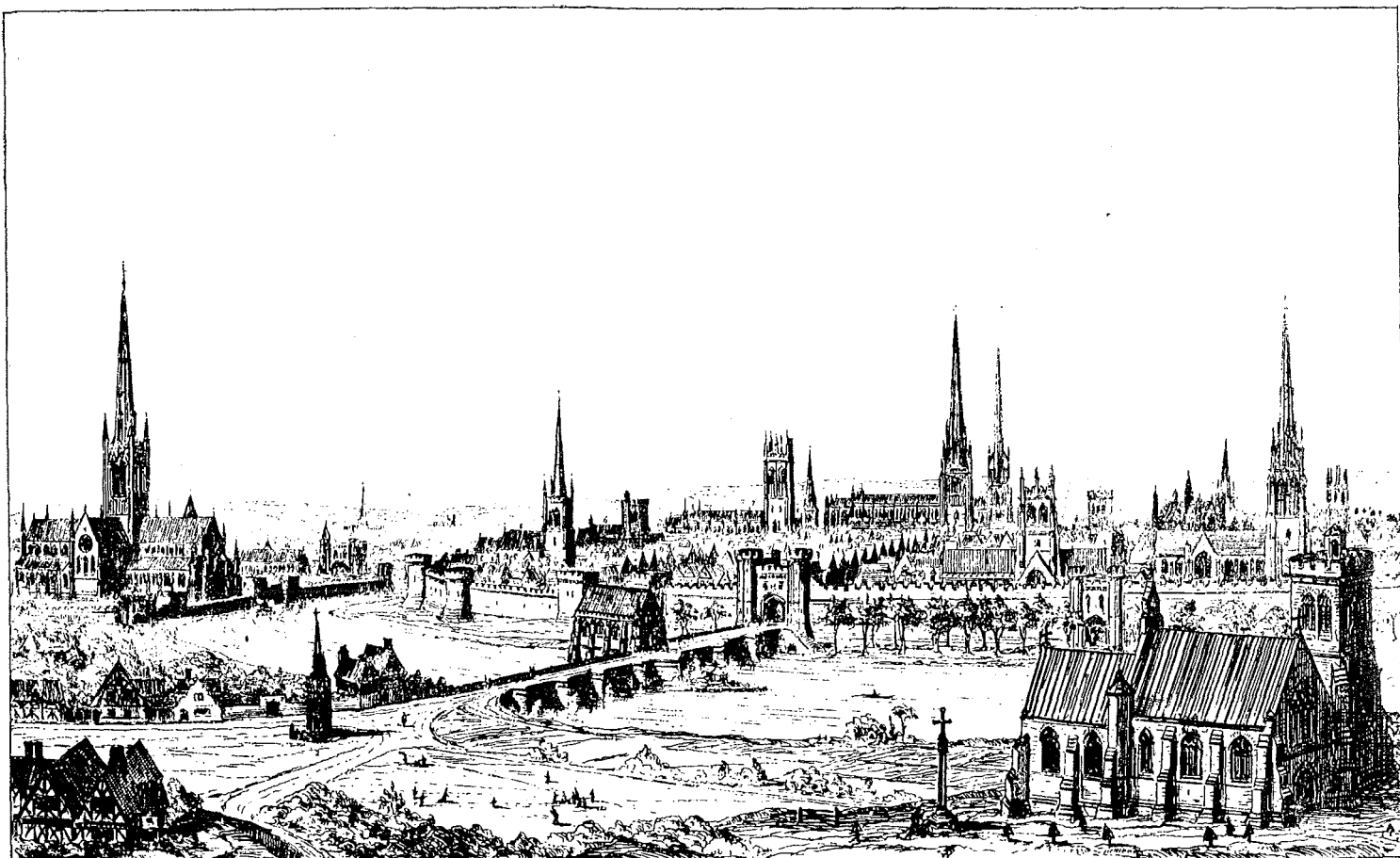
CONTRASTED EPISCOPAL MONUMENTS.





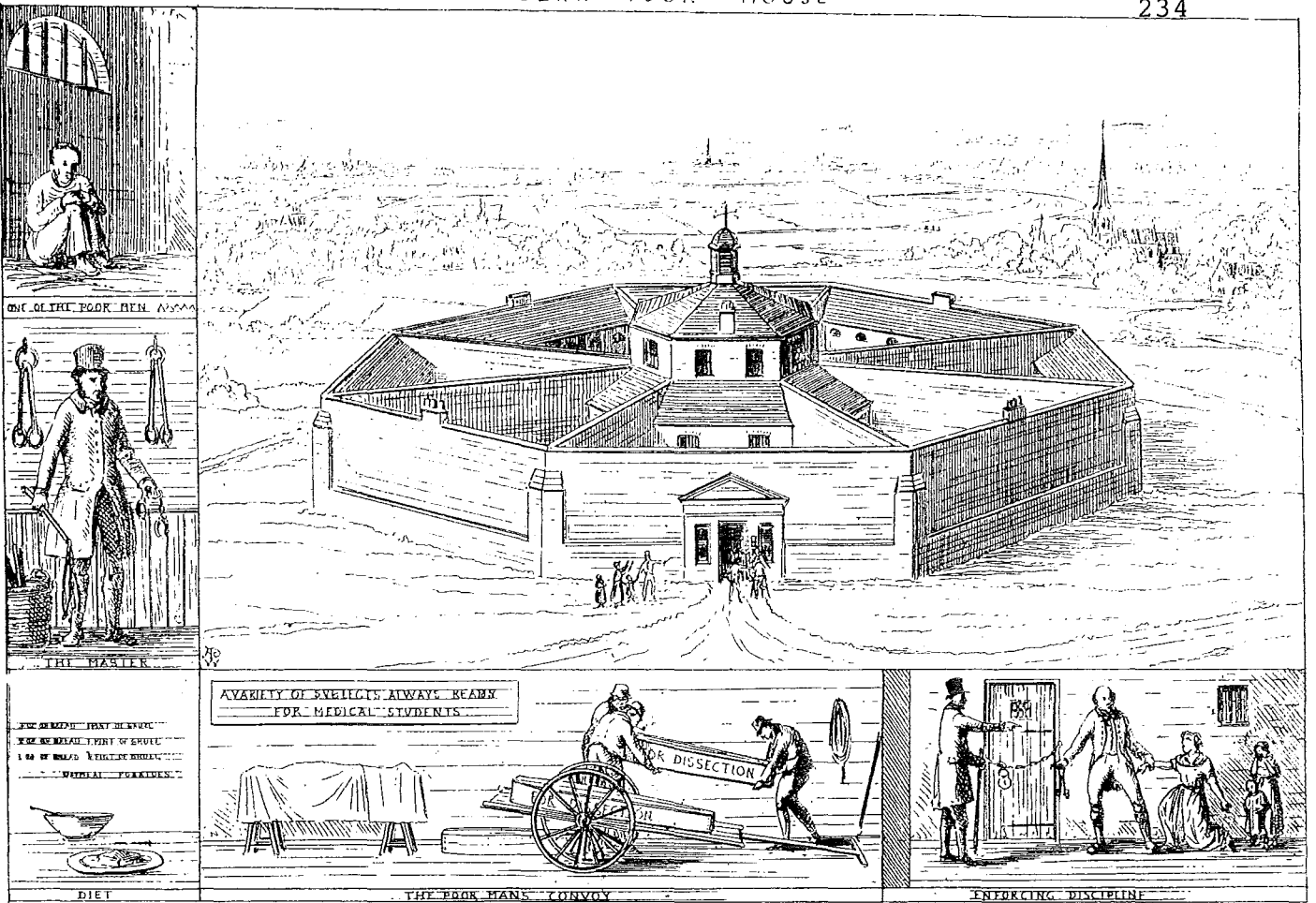
THE SAME TOWN IN 1840

1. St. Michael's Tower, rebuilt in 1750. 2. New Parsonage House & Pleasure Grounds. 3. The New Jail. 4. Gas Works. 5. Lunatic Asylum. 6. Iron Works & Ruins of St. Mary's Abbey. 7. St. Evans Chapel. 8. Baptist Chapel. 9. Unitarian Chapel. 10. New Church. 11. New Town Hall & Concert Room. 12. Wesleyan Centenary Chapel. 13. New Christian Society. 14. Quakers Meeting. 15. Socialist Hall of Science.



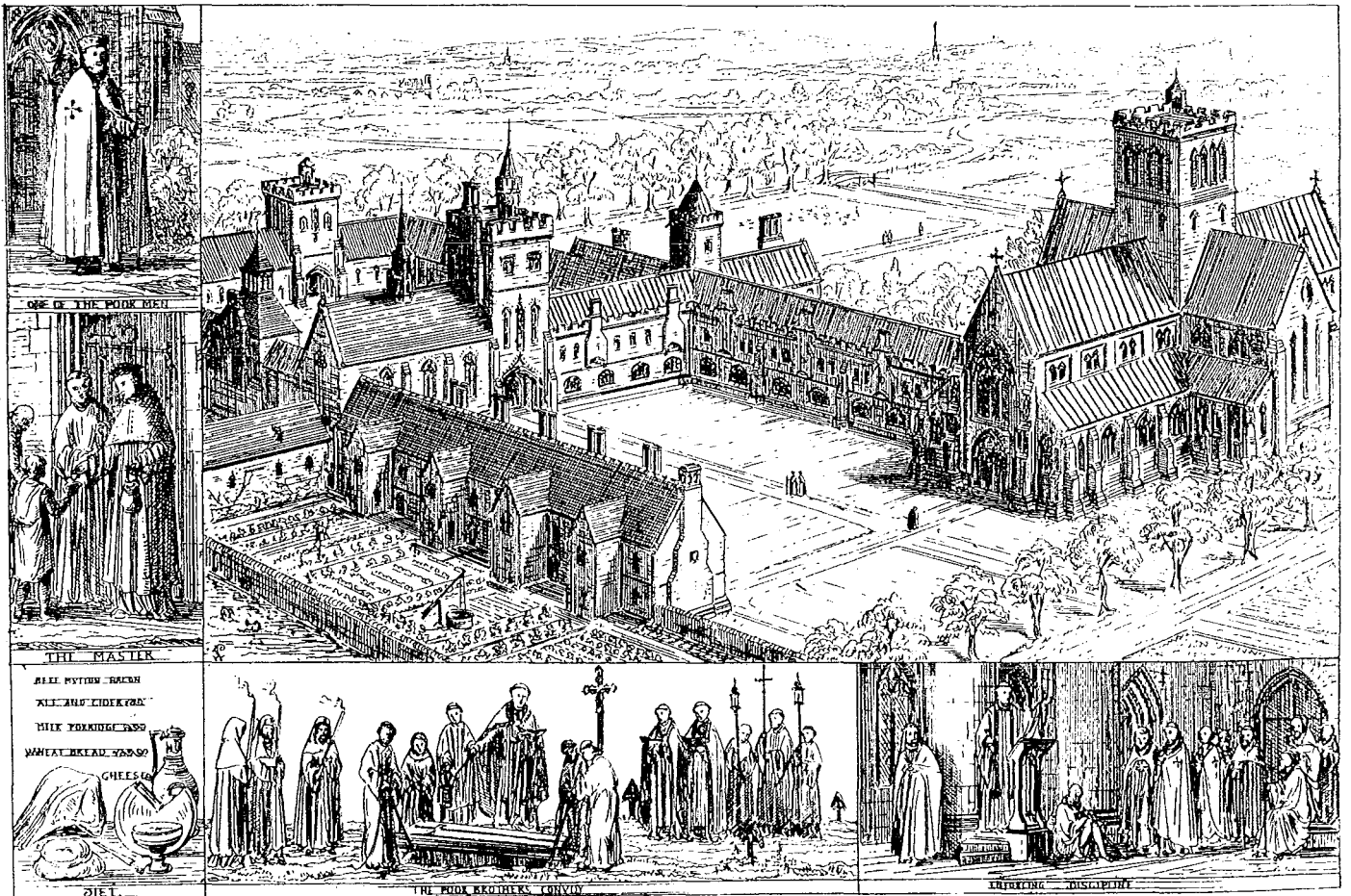
Catholic town in 1440.

1. St. Michael's on the Hill. 2. Queen's Cross. 3. St. Thomas's Chapel. 4. St. Mary's Abbey. 5. All Saints. 6. St. John's. 7. St. Peter's. 8. St. Edmund's. 9. St. Mary's. 10. St. Edmund's. 11. Grey Friars. 12. St. Cuthbert's. 13. Guild hall. 14. Trinity. 15. St. Clare's. 16. St. Botolph's.



CONTRASTED RESIDENCES FOR THE POOR

ANTIENT POOR HOUSE.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography to this thesis is provided by Margaret Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin: an annotated critical bibliography (London: Mansell Publishing, 1987), together with those few items referred to in the notes which are not included in it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to G.W. Spence, the supervisor, and I.J. Lochhead, the associate supervisor, for the care and thoroughness with which they guided and helped me in the preparation of this thesis.